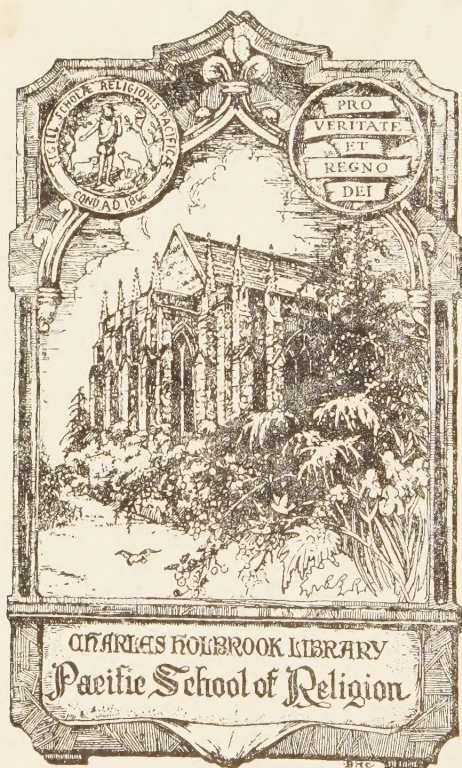
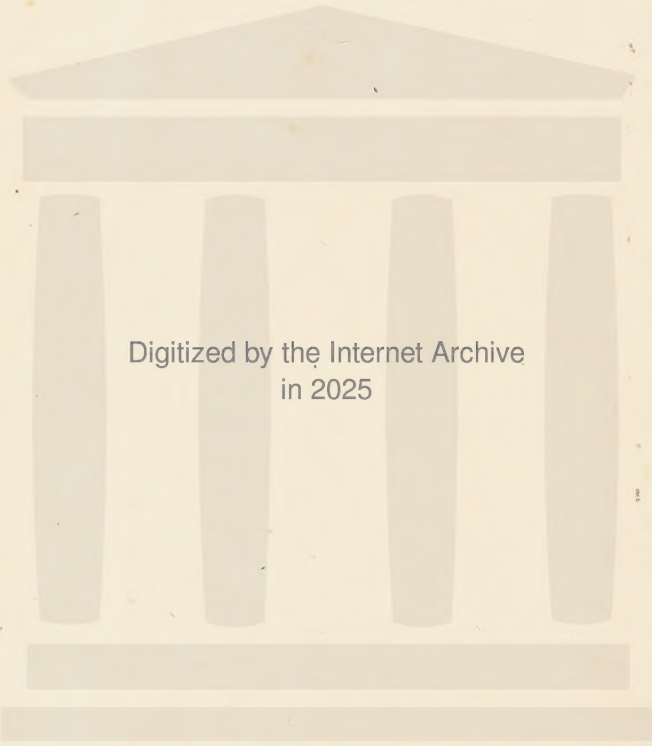










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PUBLICATIONS
OF THE
AMERICAN
JEWISH HISTORICAL SOCIETY

No. 2.

CHIEFLY PAPERS PRESENTED AT THE SECOND
ANNUAL MEETING, HELD AT NEW YORK,
DECEMBER 27 AND 28, 1893.



PUBLISHED BY THE SOCIETY
1894



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AMERICAN JEWISH HISTORICAL SOCIETY,

ORGANIZED AT NEW YORK, JUNE 7, 1892.

HP12

Am 353

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All communications should be addressed to the Corresponding Secretary, DR. CYRUS ADLER, Smithsonian Institution, Washington City, U. S. A.

OBJECTS.

The object of this Society is to collect and publish material bearing upon the history of our country. It is known that Jews in Spain and Portugal participated in some degree in the voyages which led to the discovery of America, and that there were Jews from Holland, Great Britain, Jamaica and other countries among the earliest settlers of several of the colonies. There were also a number of Jews in the Continental army, and others contributed liberally to defray the expenses of the Revolutionary war. Since the foundation of our government a number of Jews have held important public positions. The genealogy of these men and the record of their achievements will, when gathered together, be of value and interest to the historian and perchance contribute materially to the history of our country.

The objects for which this Society was organized are not sectarian but American. The co-operation of students of history and of all persons who have an interest in the work of the Society is cordially invited.

SECOND ANNUAL MEETING.

The second annual meeting of the American Jewish Historical Society was held Wednesday, December 27th, and Thursday, December 28th, 1893, at Columbia College, New York. Four sessions were held. The first session began on Wednesday at 11 o'clock a. m. and was devoted to the transaction of business. The following report was presented by the Treasurer:

Treasurer's report showing receipts and disbursements from September 1, 1892, to September 30, 1893.

CYRUS ADLER, *Treasurer, in account with the American Jewish
Historical Society.*

DR.

Sept. 30, 1893. Cash received to date:

Members' dues	\$670 00
Life membership.....	100 00
Sale of publications	4 50
Total receipts	\$774 50

CR.

Sept. 30, 1893. By disbursements to date:

Postage, stationery, etc.....	\$65 27
Printing report of organization	45 52
Printing and distributing Publications No. 1.....	226 61
Miscellaneous printing.....	28 00
Expenses of Philadelphia meeting.....	17 00
Clerical services.....	91 75
	\$474 15

Balance on hand, October 1, 1893..... 300 35

WASHINGTON, D. C., Dec. 23, 1893.

Audited and found correct.

MYER COHEN.

The last paragraph of Article III. of the Constitution was amended by substituting the words "approved by the Council" for the words "not residing in the United States." Officers were then elected for the ensuing year.

The second session began at 3 p. m. and was devoted to the reading of papers. The third session was held Wednesday evening at 8 o'clock. Several papers were read, and notices were presented by the Corresponding Secretary of members and co-laborers who had died during the past year.

It was decided to hold the next meeting at Washington. The question of having an exhibition in connection with the next meeting was, after considerable discussion, referred to the Executive Council.

The fourth and closing session was held on Thursday morning. Nineteen papers in all were read.

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ADDRESS OF THE PRESIDENT,

HON. OSCAR S. STRAUS, *New York.*

Members and friends of the American Jewish Historical Society :

It is my pleasant privilege to welcome you to the second annual meeting of our Society, and to congratulate you upon the gratifying work done during the past year. The papers presented at the first meeting, held in Philadelphia on December 15, 1892, have been published by the Society, and are entitled "Publications of the American Jewish Historical Society, No. 1." They contain much of value and of interest to the historical student, and are an earnest of what can be done within the special field we have selected.

I take this occasion to emphasize that the objects of this Society are to further investigation, to collect and publish material bearing upon the history of our country, within the field designated. The Society is not sectarian, but American, and we invite and welcome as members students of history and all who have an interest in its work and purposes.

Although the Society is but a year and a half old, having been organized at a meeting held in the City of New York on the 17th of June, 1892, it has had its influences both in this country and in Europe. A similar society, known as the Jewish Historical Society of England, was formed in London in the early part of the present year. Within the line of its investigation, Mr. Joseph Jacobs, one of the learned members of that Society, published a few months since a valuable work on "The Jews of Angevin England" to the year 1206, which is an important contribution to the history of the

period, containing many facts not before known and documents not hitherto published.

In our country, the articles of the Honorable Charles P. Daly upon "The Settlement of the Jews in North America" have been revised under the supervision of the venerable author, and published in book form with carefully prepared annotations by Mr. Max J. Kohler, one of our youngest members. I trust that before another year the researches which are being made by members of this Society will give us monographs on the settlement of the Jews in Newport, Philadelphia, and in other cities where the Jews early became important contributors to intellectual and commercial development.

Canada presents a fruitful field for research in the direction indicated. Many prominent families, prior to and after our Revolution, settled there, coming from England and from the Dutch and British colonies, Barbadoes, Jamaica and Curaçoa. Others came from Newport, Charleston, Philadelphia and New York. I trust that, through carefully selected corresponding members in Mexico, West Indies, and in French, British and Dutch Guiana, papers will be presented at our next meeting, giving the history of their Jewish settlements, which began in the middle of the 17th century, and included men of learning and prominence who attained positions of the highest honor and distinction.

The researches of Dr. M. Kayserling, of Budapest, in Spain and Portugal, were in progress at the time of our last annual meeting. I am pleased to inform you that they have since been terminated; his manuscript entitled "Christopher Columbus and the Participation of the Jews in the Spanish and Portuguese Discoveries" has been translated from the German by one of our vice-presidents, Dr. Charles Gross, and will appear early in the coming year. Without forestalling the publication, I feel justified in saying that it contains much new and interesting material upon the discoverer and the discoveries, directly bearing upon the beginnings of American history.

The political and ecclesiastical institutions in this country, although of transplanted growth, present new phases of development. We had no old castles to rebuild, class privileges to fortify, or customs to contend against. The immigrants at their first coming, and for many years thereafter, were comparatively so few in number that they could readily mould their institutions to their needs and according to their pleasure. To the diversity of religious sects is to be attributed the substitution of a more liberal policy for one of narrow exclusiveness. This in turn was the channel to more liberal political institutions based upon an enlightened self-interest. All along this development we can trace the current of the Biblical ideas of democracy percolating through Puritan pulpits. While these ideas had a narrowing ecclesiastical tendency they had a broadening civil influence.

When we look beyond the turmoil of the present and carefully study the forces which developed in this country, our patriotism and love for our institutions will increase with our knowledge. The better we understand the stages of that development, the better are we able to guard against the dangers that beset our growth as a nation. The politician is ever the advocate of expediency, not always from lack of patriotism, but from lack of knowledge. His horizon is limited by the immediate present. The statesman studies development and tendencies, and for this he looks backward and forward. He sees the present in the light of the past. "A key to the past," says Lecky, "forms also an admirable discipline for the judgment of the present." "He who has learned the true character and tendencies of many succeeding ages is not likely to go very far wrong in estimating his own."

A SKETCH OF HAYM SALOMON.

FROM AN UNPUBLISHED MS. IN THE PAPERS OF
JARED SPARKS.

Contributed by HERBERT B. ADAMS, Ph. D., *Professor in the Johns Hopkins University.* With Notes by J. H. HOLLANDER.

In the fall of 1841, Jared Sparks, while professor of history in Harvard College, was delivering a course of lyceum lectures in New York City upon the American Revolution. His remarks upon the services of certain public men of the period excited deep interest in the mind of a Jewish hearer, Mr. Haym M. Salomon, who wrote to and afterwards called upon Mr. Sparks in reference to the patriotic activity of Haym Salomon, a contemporary and associate of Robert Morris, James Madison, Edmund Randolph and other distinguished publicists of the Revolutionary period. At the request of Mr. Sparks, Mr. Salomon prepared certain memoranda of the eminent services of his father, Haym Salomon, and this manuscript passed into the possession of Mr. Sparks.

The interview and the information thus obtained seem to have made a profound impression upon Mr. Sparks. He mentioned something of the above matter to Mr. Joshua I. Cohen, of Baltimore, and almost a quarter of a century after the original interview, under date of October 29, 1865, Mr. Cohen wrote to Mr. Sparks as follows :

“ You may probably recollect a conversation I had with you many years ago during a visit to Cambridge, in which I mentioned that Judge Noah, of New York, was then engaged in gathering together the facts and memorials of the part which our people, the Israelites, took in our Revolutionary

struggle, and you kindly offered to him through me the use of your biographical series for any memoirs he might prepare on the subject. The death of Judge Noah, not long after, put an end to the project. I mentioned to you a military company that was formed in Charleston, S. C., composed almost exclusively of Israelites, of which my uncle was a member, and which behaved well during the war. Major Frank, one of Arnold's aids, was spoken of, and also Haym Salomon and others. In connection with Mr. Salomon you expressed yourself very fully, and, in substance (if I recollect correctly), that his association with Robert Morris was very close and intimate, and that a great part of the success that Mr. Morris attained in his financial schemes was due to the skill and ability of Haym Salomon. I do not pretend to quote your language, but only the idea. The matter was brought up to my mind recently by the marriage of a great-grandson of Mr. Salomon to a niece of mine, one of the young ladies of our household."*

The original sketch of Haym Salomon thus prepared by his son was found in a somewhat mutilated condition by Professor Herbert B. Adams, of the Johns Hopkins University, among the Sparks Papers, which had been entrusted to his care during the preparation of "The Life and Writings ,

*See Adams, *Life and Writings of Jared Sparks*, Vol. II., p. 564. From the general tenor of the letter, it seems probable that Mr. Sparks, during his extensive researches into the historical records, public and private, of the United States, had encountered other evidence of the services of Haym Salomon. This inference is partially corroborated by a passage in a letter written by Mr. Sparks from Cambridge on May 7, 1845, to Mr. Haym M. Salomon, apparently in connection with the first memorial to Congress: "Among the numerous papers that have passed under my eye I have seen evidences of his [*Haym Salomon's*] transactions, which convince me that he rendered important services to the United States in their pecuniary affairs." See Report on Claim of H. M. Salomon: Senate Reports, No. 177, 31st Cong., 1st Sess., Vol. I. It is not, however, impossible that only the present manuscript may be here referred to.

of Jared Sparks," published in 1893 by Houghton, Mifflin & Co. The manuscript was stitched to other papers and had been apparently cut down somewhat in order to make it more uniform in size with the smaller sheets. This fact will explain certain tantalizing, but apparently brief omissions in the text. The appended copy of the manuscript is furnished by Professor Adams with the full consent of the Sparks family.

Haym Salomon, who died in Philadelphia, then the metropolis of the United States, January, 1785, was the fellow-countryman and intimate associate of the Polish Generals Pulaski and Kosciuszko, and was first publicly known in 1778, when he was taken by the British General Sir H. Clinton in New York on charges that he had received orders from General Washington to burn their fleets and destroy their store-houses, which he had attempted to execute to their great injury and damage. He was accordingly imprisoned, treated inhumanely, and ordered to suffer military death. From the sacrifice of his life, with which he was threatened in consequence of the sentence, he escaped by means of a considerable bribe in gold. This is corroborated from his letter to his brother-in-law, Major Franks, dated soon after in Philadelphia, in which his intimacy is stated with the brave General McDougall, who then commanded the American army in the neighborhood of New York, and with whom it appears he must have been in co-operation in order to drive . . . away from the comfortable quarters, which the maritime and military positions of that city so happily promised them after its abandonment by the friends of the Revolution.*

*It is probable that Haym Salomon's first encounter with the British Government took place several years before 1778. The Senate Report to the 31st Congress (*supra*) states that: "As early as 1775 he became obnoxious to the British Government, and was imprisoned in New York, sharing the privations and horrors of the

A few days after his escape from the merciless enemy he safely arrived in Philadelphia, where he was welcomed and esteemed as one devoted to the principle . . . [MS. cut off]

We then find him meriting the well-placed confidence and affection of the patriots who had been distinguished in the Revolutionary Congress of 1776; also the great men who were famous in those succeeding sessions, 1780, '81, '82, '83, and '84, as furnished us by such circumstantial testimony as yet remains of that immortal body of devoted patriots.

It is seen as soon as the generous monarch of France agreed to furnish the expiring government of that day with means to reanimate their exertions in the glorious cause. It was he who was charged with the negotiation of the entire amount of those munificent grants of pecuniary supplies from the government of France and Holland.*

sufferers confined in a loathsome prison called the Provost" Essentially the same fact is repeated in later Reports, and it is specifically presented in certified form in a later part of the present paper.

The Memorial of Haym Salomon to the Continental Congress (see Bibliographical Note, *infra*) is of such immediate interest in connection with the circumstances of his escape from New York as to permit partial citation. It sets forth: "That your Memorialist was some time before the Entry of the British Troops at the said City of New York and soon after taken up as a Spy and by General Robertson committed to the Provost. That by the Interposition of Lieut. General Heister (who wanted him on account of his knowledge in the French, Polish, Russian, Italian &c. Languages) he was given over to the Hessian Commander who appointed him in the Commissary Way as purveyor chiefly for the Officers. That being at New York he has been of great Service to the French and American prisoners and has assisted them with Money and helped them off to make their Escape. That this and his close connexions with such of the Hessian Officers as were inclined to resign and with Monsieur Samuel Demezes has rendered him at last so obnoxious to the British Head Quarters that he was already pursued by the Guards and on Tuesday the 11th inst. he made his happy Escape from thence." The Memorial bears date of August 25, 1778, thus indicating the precise time of Salomon's departure from New York as August 11, 1778.

*For details see Report to 31st Congress. The exact location of this and other Congressional Reports is given in the Bibliographical Note appended to the paper.

In 1783-4, after the satisfactory close of these truly confidential services, he is found to have made considerable advances, moneys, loans, &c. to Robert Morris, of the Congress of the Declaration of '76. To General Mifflin, to General St. Clair, to General Steuben, to Colonel Shee, to Colonel Morgan, Major McPherson, Major Franks, and many other officers such sums as they required. And as it regarded the deputies to the Continental Congress, [*to*] the amiable Judge Wilson (another member of the session of '76) considerable loans.*

To the immortal delegation from Virginia, namely, Arthur Lee, Theodore Bland, Joseph Jones, John F. Mercer and Edmund Randolph, liberal supplies of timely and pecuniary aid, and we find it declared by one of the most accomplished, most learned and patriotic members of the succeeding sessions of the Revolutionary legislature, James Madison, that when by the . . . [*MS. cut off*] pecuniary resources of the members of Congress, both public and private, were cut off, recourse was had to Mr. Salomon for means to answer their current expenses, and he was always found extending his friendly hand.†

* This is corroborated by a letter from the eminent jurist, Henry Wheaton, to Haym M. Salomon. Among "the patriots of the Revolution who were compelled to sacrifice their private pursuits to the public," Mr. Wheaton mentions Judge Wilson, "who must have retired from public service if he had not been sustained by the timely aid of your father, administered with equal generosity and delicacy." See Report to 31st Congress.

† Under date of August 27, 1782, Mr. Madison wrote from Philadelphia to Edmund Randolph: "I cannot in any way make you more sensible of the importance of your kind attention to pecuniary remittances for me than by informing you that I have for some time been a pensioner on the favor of Haym Salomon, a Jew Broker." See Gilpin, Madison Papers, I., 163. During the following month Mr. Madison's position seems to have grown more aggravated, for, on September 24, he declared: "I am relapsing fast into distress. The case of my brethren is equally alarming." *Ibid.* p. 176. Assistance in sufficient amount was still not forthcoming, and a week later, September 30, 1782, he acknowledged to Mr. Randolph the

The exalted and surviving delegate of the Revolutionary Congress above alluded to, who has since that period been promoted for two successive terms to the chief magistracy of these States, in his letter on the subject of the character of Mr. Haym Salomon, testifies fully as to the unquestionable uprightness of his transactions, as well as the disinterestedness of his "friendship," and also his "intelligence," and which no doubt from his confidential intercourse with the foreign ambassadors made his communications serviceable to the public safety.* That conferences were sought with him

local source of his benefactions, as follows: "I am almost ashamed to acknowledge my wants so incessantly to you, but they begin to be so urgent that it is impossible to suppress them. The kindness of our little friend in Front street, near the coffee-house, is a fund that will preserve me from extremities, but I never resort to it without great mortification, as he obstinately rejects all recompense. The price of money is so usurious that he thinks it ought to be extorted from none but those who aim at profitable speculations. To a necessitous delegate, he gratuitously spares a supply out of his private stock." *Ibid.* pp. 178-179.

There seems little doubt but that the "little friend in Front street" is meant to indicate Haym Salomon. This view is taken by the Congressional committees and by Madison's biographer; see Gay, *Life of James Madison*, p. 25. The fact that the first Philadelphia City Directory was issued in 1785, and that Haym Salomon died on January 6 of that year (*vide infra*), renders direct verification impracticable. Search among the Philadelphia newspapers of the period would probably determine the point once for all.

* The writer of the MS. is probably quoting from memory from a letter written by Mr. Madison from Montpelier, on February 6, 1830, to Mr. Haym M. Salomon, in connection with claims upon Congress for indemnity. The Senate Report to the 31st Congress preserves the following paragraph of this letter: "The transactions shown by the papers you enclosed were the means of effectuating remittances for the support of the delegates [*to Congress*], and the agency of your father therein was solicited, on account of the respectability and confidence he enjoyed among those best acquainted with him."

The Report to the 37th Congress mentions among the various letters received by Haym M. Salomon relative to the justice of his claim, "one from James Madison, in 1827, who, among other things, stated: 'The transactions shown by the papers you enclose were for the support of the delegates to Congress, and the agency of

by the great men of the time is proved from the existence of a note in the handwriting of another member of the Congress of Declaration, the incorruptible President Reed.

His services to the cause of his country were not confined to aiding the native agents of our own government, but he was the most confidential friend and timely adviser to the agents, consuls, and ambassadors representing the interests of the kings of those countries then in our alliance, as it appears from the amount of specie granted for the service of the army and hospital of Rochambaud, and large sums appear to have been received from him by Chevalier De La Luzerne, Marbois, consul-general, De La Forest, John . . . [*MS. cut off*], recollected by the elders of the nation as the active agents of the good French king.*

As to the minister of the King of Spain, then the richest of the European monarchs. The amount granted him was expressly to relieve the wants, conveniences and necessities of this ambassador, whose king was then countenancing the Revolution in this country, but with whose European dominions all intercourse was stopped, and in regard to the monies so furnished, whether Mr. S. was ever repaid by Spain is a matter of as much uncertainty as that regarding the considerable sums advanced to other Revolutionary agents.†

your father therein was solicited on account of the respect and confidence he enjoyed among those best acquainted with him,' etc., and concludes with the wish that the memorialist might be properly indemnified."

The resemblance between the two paragraphs is so striking as to make it probable, despite the discrepancy in dates, that the same communication is referred to.

*The Report to the 31st Congress states: "On the accession of the Count de la Luzerne to the embassy from France, Mr. Salomon was made the banker of that government. . . . He was also appointed by Monsieur Roquebrune, treasurer of the forces of France in America, to the office of their paymaster-general, which he executed free of charge."

† Details of the assistance so rendered are given in the Report to the 31st Congress. Mr. Salomon, it is said, "maintained from his own

It appears that the death of Mr. S. after a short and severe illness was quite as unexpected as calamitous to his family, leaving no will nor relatives in this country competent to take charge of his estate, at this difficult period of the unsettled state of the jurisprudence of the country, being four years prior to the formation of the Constitution of the United States.

A letter from him yet exists, dated in New York a few days previous to his return and death, directed to the agent of his house in Philadelphia, in which he speaks of the full competency of his fortune and his intention of retiring from business. An additional inducement no doubt was owing to the impaired state of his health from the great exertions he had made to promote the views of the Revolution, and which letter further declares that he had many claims uncollected due him, and spoke of the quantities of public securities and government papers which . . . [*MS. cut off*]. Of this latter, on examination of a list deposited in the Probate Office, it appears there was upwards of \$300,000, more than \$160,000 of which were of certificates of the Loan Office of the Treasury and of the army.*

At his decease the management of his estate passed into the hands of strangers, all of whom not very long after

private purse Don Francesco Rendon, the secret ambassador of that monarch for nearly two years, or up to the death of Mr. S., during which Rendon's supplies were cut off." A striking passage is quoted in the same Report from a letter said to have been written in 1783 by Rendon to the Governor-General of Cuba, Don Jose Marie de Navarra: "Mr. Salomon has advanced the money for the service of his most Catholic Majesty and I am indebted to his friendship in this particular, for the support of my character as his most Catholic Majesty's agent here, with any degree of credit and reputation; and without it, I would not have been able to render that protection and assistance to his Majesty's subjects which his Majesty enjoins and my duty requires." The statement is also made that: "Moneys thus advanced to the amount of about 10,000 Spanish dollars remained unpaid, when Mr. Salomon died shortly after."

*For a summary of the account see the certificate appended, *infra*. Some few further details of the inventory are given in the Committee Report to the 30th Congress.

became either bankrupts or died, as well as Mr. Macrea,* his chief clerk, who had committed suicide about the same period. Consequently the books and papers have nearly been all lost, and the obscurity into which these matters are thrown is increased in consequence of the destruction by the British of many of the public archives of that period, during the invasion of the City of Washington by their army during the last war.† And such were the effects of those unfortunate circumstances to the heirs, that when the youngest son became of age, nothing was obtained from the personal estate of this munificent and patriotic individual in Philadelphia. And no other inheritance now survives to the offspring, except the expectation of the grateful remembrance of a just and generous republic.

It ought not to be forgotten, that although he endorsed a great portion of those bills of exchange for the amount of the loans and subsidies our government obtained in Europe, of which he negotiated the entire sums, and the execution of which duty occupied a great portion of his valuable time from '81 to '83, still there was only charged scarcely a fractional percentage to the United States, although individuals were willing to pay him . . . [*MS. cut off*] for his other negotiations and guarantee. And it is known that he never caused the loss to the government of one cent of those many millions of his negotiations, either by his own mismanagement or from the credit he gave to others on the sales he made of those immense sums of foreign drafts on account of the United States.‡

We find that immediately after the peace of '83, when foreign commerce could securely float again on the ocean, that

* "Mr. McCrea," in the Report to the 31st Congress.

† Mr. Joseph Nourse, Register of the Treasury of the United States from 1777 to 1823, wrote from Washington in 1827, to Mr. H. M. Salomon: "I have cast back to those periods when your honored father was agent to Office of Finance; but the inroads of the British army in 1814 deprived us of every record in relation to the vouchers of the period to which I refer." See for details, Report to 31st Congress; also Bibliographical Note.

‡ For details, see Report to 31st Congress.

he resumed his business as a merchant for the few remaining months of his life, trading to foreign countries, which may be collected from the few original letters (that are preserved) bearing date [of] London, Holland, and Spain, and from the return of the large ship Sally from Spain to his consignment a few weeks succeeding his death, on which cargo and hull he was interested in the sum of 40,000 florins; his estate on the expedition sustained almost total loss, owing to the failures and disasters among merchants of those days, to whom the property had been consigned and by whose advice it had been undertaken.

He was most friendly in aiding those other commercial citizens and merchants who recommenced trading after the war had closed. One remarkable instance [*that*] may be noted among others was the case of Mr. Willing's house, the head of which was the president of the National Bank, and whose active partner was the Superintendent of Finance. The firm traded under the name of Willing, Morris & Swanick. To them he made a loan of his name to obtain 40,000 dollars in specie in one amount from the bank. A second loan of his name in addition of 24,000 specie dollars also, a few months preceding his death, for both of which considerable accommodations of credit at this eventful period of our commercial history, he never charged them one cent of consideration.*

[Copy of an authentic certificate from the Register's Office in Philadelphia shewing the amount of public securities and Revolutionary papers left by the deceased Haym Salomon at his death and from which personal estate mentioned in

* Hon. Simon Wolf, of Washington, D. C., in an article in *The Reform Advocate* of Chicago (see Bibliographical Note), calls attention to the fact that Professor Sumner—the most recent biographer of Robert Morris—in his “The Financier and the Finances of the American Revolution,” makes no mention of the services of Haym Salomon. Mr. Wolf adds: “When I called Mr. Sumner's attention to it he answered in a letter which I received to-day, that he had supposed that Mr. Salomon had been paid long since, and was surprised at the statement which I made.”

said certificate not a cent was ever received by any of his heirs.]

“ 58 Loan Office Certificates	\$110,233.65
19 Treasury Certificates	18,259.50
2 Virginia State do.	8,166.48
70 Commissioners do.	17,870.37
Continental Liquidated	199,214.45
	\$353,744.45

“Seal

“I certify that the above writing is a true extract from the original inventory and appraisement of the personal estate of Haym Salomon deceased filed in the register’s office Philadelphia on the 15th February, 1785.

(Signed)

JOHN GEYER, *Register.*

Given under my hand and seal of office this 28th May, A. D. 1828.”

[EXTRACT FROM A CERTIFICATE.]

The father of Mr. Haym M. Salomon was the deceased Haym Salomon, Esq., who died in Philadelphia, January 6, 1785, and who is found to have exhibited the most ardent personal devotion to the cause of the Revolution.

On investigating such of the memoranda and papers regarding his civil services in that era of our history which have accidentally been preserved and now submitted, I find the following facts.

By an affidavit made in New York, January, 1778, before Alderman Matthews, certified on its back by William Claygen, military secretary to Major-General Horatio Gates, dated at the encampment White Plains, August 15, 1778, it appears that so early as the year 1775, Mr. S. was in controversy with the enemies of the projected Revolution.

New York, May 9, 1828.

(Signed) WM. H. BELL.

The affidavit further states that it had been alleged against him in New York that he was charged by General Washington to execute an enterprise as hazardous to the safety of his person and life as it was most important to the interests of the Revolutionary army. Supposed to be the enterprise for which he was condemned to death by the British General Clinton, as mentioned in the first part of this memorandum.

The two infant sons which Mr. Salomon (at the age of 45) left at his death were Ezekiel and Haym. Ezekiel was he (the eldest) who in 1807, in charge of a large amount of American property, was (with many other American citizens whose cargoes as well as his own was sequestered at Leghorn by the French) placed in much perplexity, but through the spirited remonstrance which he made to the Tuscan and French Governments, succeeded in procuring its release. He subsequently was charged with the government of the U. S. Branch Bank at New Orleans, and while in the successful application of the duties of his office died in 1821.

Haym M., the youngest son and sole survivor of the male part of the family, has been engaged in commercial pursuits for many years past, for particulars of which see letter from Hon. Johnson, Esq., who for eight years was the representative in Congress from New York, the Empire City of the United States, and now one of the chief officers in the Custom House of that city.*

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL NOTE.

Little of the mass of original material at one time in existence relative to the life and activity of Haym Salomon

*A third child of Haym Salomon was a daughter, Sallie Salomon, who married Joseph Andrews. Their son, Joseph I. Andrews, married Miriam Nones, of New York, a daughter of Major Benjamin Nones of Revolutionary fame. The daughter of this union, Louisa Andrews, is now Mrs. E. L. Goldbaum, of Memphis, Tenn. Mr. Goldbaum kindly writes me: "We have in our possession life-size oil paintings of Joseph Andrews, son-in-law of Haym Salomon, and of his wife Sallie Andrews, *née* Sallie Salomon."

can now be located. Mr. William Salomon, of New York, a great-grandson of Haym Salomon, writes in response to a recent inquiry as follows: "I am under the impression that all the papers bearing on the services of Haym Salomon in the cause of the Revolution which were not lost when he died intestate (and a few months before Haym M. Salomon was born) came into Haym M. Salomon's possession, but unfortunately his descendants have been deprived of that valued inheritance by reason of their disappearance while in the custody of the Government. All I ever discovered among my father's papers was a letter from either President Tyler or Polk (I cannot remember positively which, and the letter is not now within easy reach) stating that papers my grandfather, Haym M. Salomon, desired to have returned could not be found in the Department where they had been placed."

Some further details of the strange negligence to which this unfortunate loss is due may be found in the Senate Committee Report to the 31st Congress on the claim of H. M. Salomon. The timely services rendered by Haym Salomon to James Madison during the sessions of the Constitutional Convention in Philadelphia are specifically indicated in the published letters of Madison; see Gilpin, *Madison Papers*, Vol. I., pp. 163, 178-9. Mr. Herbert Friedenwald, of Philadelphia, has recently found among the records of the Continental Congress an interesting Memorial of Haym Salomon, submitted to the Congress in August, 1778; see *Publications of American Jewish Historical Society*, I., 87. The main sources of information relative to the life of Haym Salomon are thus the secondary Congressional Committee Reports upon the claims of his descendants for indemnity for money advanced to the United States Government during the Revolution. These, in the order of their presentation, are as follows:*

* Poore, *Descriptive Catalogue of the Government Publications of the United States* (Washington, 1885), pp. 558, 565, 593, 762, 807, 828.

1. Report on Claim of Haym M. Salomon. Rep. F. A. Tallmadge. April 26, 1848. 3 pp. House Reports, No. 504, 30th Cong., 1st Sess., Vol. III.

2. Report on Claim of H. M. Salomon. Senator J. D. Bright. July 28, 1848. 3 pp. Senate Reports, No. 219, 30th Cong., 1st Sess.

3. Report on Claim of H. M. Salomon. Senator I. P. Walker. August 9, 1850. 7 pp. Senate Reports, No. 177, 31st Cong., 1st Sess., Vol. I.

4. Report on Claim of Haym M. Salomon. Senator Charles Durkee. March 9, 1860. 10 pp. Senate Reports, No. 127, 36th Cong., 1st Sess., Vol. I.

5. Report on Claim of Haym M. Salomon. Senator M. S. Wilkinson. July 2, 1862. 5 pp. Senate Reports, No. 65, 37th Cong., 2d Sess.

6. Report on Petition of Haym M. Salomon. June 24, 1864. 4 pp. Senate Reports, No. 93, 39th Cong., 1st Sess.

The second, third, fifth and sixth of the above reports have been reprinted in pamphlet form, presumably for private circulation. During the first session of the 29th Congress, the Senate Committee of Claims unanimously agreed upon a report similar to that adopted by the House Committee of the 30th Congress, but too late for presentation. Another report was drawn up during the second session of the same Congress, placed on file, but never adopted. It was largely embodied in the Senate Report to the 31st Congress; see Senate Report to 31st Congress. The last sentence of the Report to the 38th Congress: "except the report of this committee made at the last session," and several paragraphs inserted in the Report to the 37th Congress as statements of "the committee of the last Congress," indicate the presentation of additional reports. No positive evidence of their existence has, however, been found. At the second session of the 52d Congress (February 24, 1893), a bill was presented to the House, ordering that a gold medal be struck off in recognition of services rendered by Haym Salomon

during the Revolutionary War, in consideration of which the Salomon heirs waived their claims upon the United States for indemnity. The measure was reported favorably by the House Committee on the Library, but too late for consideration. The Report (No. 2556; to accompany H. R. 7896) summarizes the efforts made in previous Congresses, and reprints in full the Senate Report to the 37th Congress.

A readable account of the life of Haym Salomon, based largely upon the Congressional Reports and entirely without exact references, is to be found in Markens, *Hebrews in America*, p. 66. Briefer sketches are given in Rosenbach, *Jews in Philadelphia prior to 1800*; in Magnus, *Outlines of Jewish History* (Am. ed.), p. 350; and in Daly, *Settlements of the Jews in North America*, p. 58. In an article entitled "Are Republics Ungrateful?", in *The Reform Advocate*, of Chicago, for February 20, 1892, Hon. Simon Wolf, of Washington, reprints the Committee Reports to the 37th and 38th Congresses with some interesting comments.

The present paper marks the beginning of what is hoped to be a systematic attempt to collect some part of the large amount of original material that must still exist, even though in scattered, fragmentary form, relative to the life and services of Haym Salomon. It seems high time that some effort should be made to secure at least historic recognition of the noble activity of this Jewish patriot. It is desired to secure general co-operation in the work of collection, and to this end any printed or manuscript letters, memoranda, or references however slight, relative to the subject, if communicated to J. H. Hollander, Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md., will be gladly received and acknowledged.

ON THE HISTORY OF THE JEWS OF CHICAGO.

BY DR. B. FELSÉNTHAL, *Chicago, Ill.*

A full and thorough history of Jews and Judaism in Chicago must not be expected here. Such a history would, among other matters, also have to consider the inner life, the religious life of the Jews in Chicago, and would have to show how the so-called reform ideas germinated there, how they grew up and developed, how at one time they were retarded and obstructed, and at another promoted and quickened. Many of the persons who took an active part in making the history of Chicago Judaism are still among the living, and the Muse of History can therefore not yet sit in judgment over them, their endeavors and their doings.

I desire to give here only a few contributions to the work of a future historian of Chicago Judaism—mere dry, detached and, moreover, incomplete facts. My statements rest partly upon information which I gathered from some of the earliest Jewish immigrants who had settled there, and partly upon my own personal observations and experiences. Living in Chicago since April, 1858, I am in a position to speak as an eye-witness in regard to many things and happenings during the past thirty-five years.

It is very likely that some single Jewish individuals settled in Chicago, or attempted to settle there, between 1830 and 1840, for in this decade large numbers of German Jews had come to America, expecting to find here not only better prospects in their various pursuits of life, but also a refuge from the oppressive and exclusive laws under which the Jews still had to suffer at that time in the old fatherland. Here in the United States they found a new fatherland, granting

them full civil and political rights equally with the citizens of other denominations; and these newcomers, confessing the old Jewish faith, appreciated this and became warmly and sincerely attached to their new country.

A large number, of course, remained at first in the great cities on the Atlantic coast, in New York, Philadelphia, and Baltimore. But a considerable number soon found their way to the valley of the Ohio and to the prairies of the West.

The first considerable migration of Jews to Chicago, or, to be more exact, to Cook County, Illinois, was in 1843. A certain Mr. William Renau, a young and enthusiastic gentleman of the Jewish faith, then living in New York City, took measures for the establishment of a Jewish Colonization Society, and his labor was not in vain. A number of Jews entered into his plans and intentions and joined his society. After the organization had been sufficiently consummated, the society deputed a Mr. Meyer to go West, to select land for the members upon which they might settle, and to report the results of his investigations and researches to the society. Mr. Meyer accordingly went West, and after looking around for several weeks in different parts of the country, selected a piece of land comprising 160 acres, situated in the town of Schaumburg, Cook County, Illinois, which he purchased for himself, and on which he remained. His written report to the society in New York was very encouraging, and urged the members to migrate to this part of the country without hesitation, for—so he said substantially—“this is a land in which milk and honey is flowing, particularly for tillers of the soil; and this part of the land, especially the town of Chicago, opens furthermore a vista into a large commercial future.”

Thereupon the majority of the society set out for the West and came to Chicago. They there met Mr. Meyer, and from him they received more complete details.

After many consultations it was found that a large number of the members were not pleased with the plans laid out by

Mr. Meyer. The consequence was that they did not settle together in a body, as had been intended; but still determined to carry out the plan of farming, they scattered in different directions. Some bought farms already improved, others claimed government lands, and still others settled in villages and united farming with mercantile life.

The majority of these men, by their industry and by their frugal and economical habits, succeeded in acquiring a competency.

After the Illinois and Michigan Canal and the railroad from Chicago to Elgin had been completed, Chicago became quite a center of attraction for people inclined to trade, and Jewish families in comparatively large numbers came to make it their home. Two Jewish families had been residing here in the city somewhat previous to this time, and one of them, Mr. Benedict Schubert, had become quite wealthy. It was he who built the first brick house in Chicago. He had been a tailor by trade, and he was very poor when he came to live in that town, but by his industry he soon acquired sufficient means, and became in his day the only prominent merchant tailor in Chicago.

Mr. Meyer, spoken of before, after having become advanced in years, and being without grown children old enough to be of any help to him, was among those who came to the city to live there. He had sold his farm and he invested all his funds in Chicago real estate. As a farseeing man of sound judgment in such matters, he advised all his friends and acquaintances to act similarly; at least he desired that they should do so with a part of their means. By many he was looked upon as eccentric. However, the result proved that he was right. Though his investments brought no immediate fruits to himself, yet to those who came after him and took his advice it was a rich mine of wealth.

Chicago had meanwhile become widely known, especially since it was rumored that it would be a great railroad center, and many Israelites were induced to select this place as their

home. Among the first who about that time came to Chicago were the brothers Koln, Levi Rosenfeld, Jacob Rosenberg, the brothers Rubel, the brothers Greenbaum, Samuel Cole, Mayer Klein, M. M. Gerstley, Fuller, Weineman, Brunne-man, Clayburgh, Weigselbaum, Ziegler, etc.

We now proceed to speak of the origin of the Jewish religious organizations in Chicago. The first time the Chicago Jews entered into a religious organization was in 1845, and the first public act by which they demonstrated their existence as a body corporate was the purchase from the city of a piece of ground for a cemetery. This old Jewish cemetery had to be abandoned in 1856, the city having become meanwhile so extensive that the cemetery was within the city limits. At present it forms a part of Lincoln Park. Not long after this cemetery had been acquired, the society which owned it organized into a regular congregation. This was the first Jewish congregation in Chicago, and very likely of the whole Northwest. It was chartered in 1847 under the name *Kchillath Anshé Maarabh* (Congregation of the Men of the West). Its first services were held in a hall situated in the uppermost floor of an old frame building on the southwest corner of Lake and South Wells streets, and Ignaz Kunreuther was its first minister. After the congregation had become strong enough financially, they leased a lot on Clark street, between Quincy and Jackson streets, upon which they erected a synagogue. At the expiration of that lease they bought a lot on the northeast corner of Adams and Wells streets, where they built another synagogue. Here they remained for several years, until the house became too small for the congregation. They then sold this property and bought a church on the corner of Peck Court and Wabash Avenue, where they remained until the building was destroyed by the great fire of 1871. Afterwards they purchased a church on the corner of Twenty-sixth street and Indiana Avenue, and, after this building too had become insufficient for the growing congregation, a new and splendid

synagogue was erected on the corner of Indiana Avenue and Thirty-third street. It was dedicated June 11th, 1891.

Not exactly a congregation, but a society of a semi-religious character was also instituted at an early date by a number of young Israelites in Chicago, under the name of *The Hebrew Benevolent Society*. In its flourishing days it did a great deal of good in the field of charity. It purchased three acres of ground in the town of Lake View (a little south of Graceland Cemetery) and laid it out as a cemetery.

Later on other charitable societies came into existence and superseded the old Hebrew Benevolent Society. Nominally, however, it still exists, but merely as a burial association.

A second Jewish congregation was established in 1851 by a number of Israelites, mainly from the eastern provinces of Prussia, to which the founders gave the name *Kehillath Bené Shalom* (Congregation of the Sons of Peace). This congregation first rented a hall in a building on the southwest corner of Dearborn and Washington streets. Afterwards they occupied a hall in a building on Clark street near Jackson street, and in 1864 they dedicated their new synagogue on Harrison street near Fourth Avenue. On October 9, 1871, it fell a prey to the great conflagration. The congregation suffered greatly by the fire, but within a few years it rallied again and erected a new house of worship on Michigan Avenue between Fourteenth and Sixteenth streets. In 1891 the congregation sold this synagogue, and purchased from *Kehillath Anshé Maarabh* the synagogue on the corner of Twenty-sixth street and Indiana Avenue, which it still occupies.

The third Jewish congregation which was founded in Chicago is *Sinai Congregation*. Its first meeting for devotional purposes was held June 21, 1861, in an edifice situated on Monroe street, between Clark and Lasalle streets. Here the congregation continued to worship until April, 1865, at which time they consecrated their new temple on the

northwest corner of Van Buren street and Third Avenue. By the fire of 1871 this temple was laid in ashes. The congregation was then without a meeting-house of its own for several years, but in April, 1876, the members dedicated their new temple on the southwest corner of Twenty-first street and Indiana Avenue, an imposing structure which they still occupy.

Another congregation, the fourth one in chronological order, was established by Israelites residing in the west division of the city in 1864. It was chartered under the name *Zion Congregation*. Its first divine service was held on the eve of Rosh ha-Shanah 5625, *i. e.* September 30, 1864, and the first temple which the congregation occupied was situated on Desplaines street between Madison and Washington streets. In 1869 the congregation disposed of the temple which it then possessed, and erected a new structure in a more suitable location, on the southeast corner of Jackson and Sangamon streets. In the course of a few years this temple also proved to be too small, and in 1885 the Zion Congregation built a new temple, on the corner of Washington Boulevard and Ogden Avenue, facing Union Park. Here they still assemble for divine worship.

In 1867 *The North Side Hebrew Congregation* was established. Previous to the great fire this congregation had a temple on Ohio street near Wells street, but the fire destroyed it. In 1882 the congregation undertook to build a new temple on the corner of Rush street and Walton Place, but they did not finish the building. They sold the property afterwards, and they have recently purchased a lot on the corner of Lasalle Avenue and Goethe street, on which they will soon erect a new and spacious temple.

During the last twenty years a considerable number of other Jewish congregations have come into existence, and at present Chicago numbers more than twenty chartered Jewish congregations.

Before closing I beg to express the hope that some one else of Chicago will soon fill out the lacunæ in the above sketch, and will correct the errors which probably are contained therein. There are also quite other fields in the history of the Jews and of Judaism in Chicago which in the foregoing notes have not been touched upon at all, and which are waiting to be tilled by another chronicler or historian. Let me indicate some of these as yet untilled fields: The origin and the rise or decadence of the various philanthropic and other societies among the Chicago Jews; the history of the charitable institutions founded and maintained by them (for example, the Michael Reese Hospital, the Jewish Manual Training School, the Old People's Home); the several attempts at establishing Jewish periodicals in Chicago, and the final success of some of these attempts; the beginnings of the Russian colony there, its growth and its influence upon Chicago Judaism in general; the factors which were active in influencing the inner religious life of the Jews there, etc. But all this must be left to another pen.



THE JEWISH CONGREGATION IN SURINAM.

BY DR. B. FELSENTHAL.

Among the existing Jewish congregations in America, that of Surinam, in Dutch Guiana, named *K. K. Berakhah we-Shalom* (Congregation of blessing and peace), is one of the oldest, if not *the* oldest. After the attempt to establish Jewish colonies on a large scale in Brazil had failed and the colonists had scattered, a number of them must have come to Surinam and must have founded there a congregation. By this congregation a splendid synagogue was built in 1685, and it was dedicated in that year soon after the fall holidays. On Wednesday, the 8th of Heshvan 5546 (October 12, 1785), the congregation joyfully celebrated the one hundredth anniversary of their synagogue's dedication.* Subsequent to the erection of the synagogue, Rabbi David Pardo came from London to Surinam, and died there in

*A description of this centennial celebration and a collection of the hymns then sung and of the prayers then recited are found in a book of 52 pages in quarto, partly in Hebrew, partly in Dutch, printed in Amsterdam, 1786. It bears the title:

זכר רב ושמחה וששון ליהודים . . . במלאת מאת שנה לחנוך בית הכנסת של ק"ק ספרדים ברכה ושלוש בקולונא סורינאם . . . ביום ר' ח' לחדש חשון בשנת להיות ענין פקוחות אל הבית הזה לפ"ק.

Dutch title:—Beschryving van de plechtigheden nevens de lof. dichten en gebeden . . . op het eerste jubelfeest van de Synagogue der Portugeesche Joodsche gemeente, op de Savane in de colonie Suriname . . . op den 12den van Wynmaand . . . 1785. Amsterdam, H. W. en C. Dronsberg.

A copy of this book is in the Rosenthal library (now a part of the library of the University in Amsterdam); see Roest's *Catalog der Hebraica und Judaica aus der L. Rosenthal'schen Bibliothek*, p. 738.

1713.* He was, without doubt, the most distinguished Rabbi the Surinam congregation has ever had. While he was still in Europe, he published the *Sepher Shulchan Tahor* (containing extracts from the first and second part of the *Shulchan 'Aruch*), Amsterdam, 1686, several editions of which were afterwards printed (see Benjacob, *Thesaurus*, p. 584).†

*See H. J. Michael's *Or ha-Hayyim*, Frankfurt, 1891, p. 342, where the author says that this is stated as a fact by Rabbi David Nieto in a letter, of which he, Michael, possessed a copy. David Nieto is a reliable witness. He may have known D. Pardo personally; if not, he certainly knew of him and of his life through mutual friends. For David Pardo was a Hazzan in London before he went to Surinam. See Hananel Nepi in his *Zekher Zaddikim li-Bhrakhah* (contained in Ghirondi's *Toledoth Gedolê Yisra'el*), p. 83; see also title-page of *Shulchan Tahor*, where, too, mention is made of the fact that Pardo was a cantor in London. R. D. Nieto was his cotemporary and was likewise living in London during the last 27 years of his life. He had been a rabbi in Leghorn, Italy, but was called to the rabbinical chair in London, where he arrived in Elul 5461 (September 1701), and died there on the 28th of Tebheth 5488 (10th January 1728); see *Or ha-Hayyim*, p. 342.

†Ye'hi'el Heilprin names one Baer London as being the author of the *Shulchan Tahor*; see *Seder ha-Doroth*, III. (ed. Warsaw, 1882, pp. 8 and 98). Heilprin's Baer London is due to a very curious misunderstanding. If a future Isaac Disraeli should write "The Curiosities of Hebrew Literature," he could well speak of the curiosity before us. On the title-page of the *editio princeps* of the *Shulchan Tahor*, the author, David Pardo, is designated as Hazzan בעיר לונדון (in the city of London). And these words בעיר לונדון (*be'Er London*) were read by Heilprin as בער לונדון (*Baer London*). And Baer London, a man who never existed, is made immortal by Heilprin, who places him in his list of authors!

In this connection it may be proper to add another remark. Isaac Aboab, one of the Amsterdam Rabbis, went in 1642 with a number of Jewish emigrants from Holland to Brazil, and while there he was their spiritual head. After the Jewish settlements in Brazil had broken up, Aboab returned to Amsterdam, in 1654, and there he again entered the Board of Rabbis. David Pardo's *Shulchan Tahor* (Amsterdam, 1686) contains the approbations (*Haskamoth*) of several Amsterdam Rabbis, and among them appears Isaac Aboab's name as that of one of the signers.

A SERMON BY MOSES MENDELSSOHN, PRINTED IN PHILADELPHIA 130 YEARS AGO.

BY DR. B. FELSENTHAL.

The discovery made by Prof. Jastrow, in the Philadelphia Library, of the Thanksgiving Sermon, printed in Philadelphia, 1763,* was one of great value. This find is the more interesting, as the German original was written by Moses Mendelssohn. The Sage of Berlin probably never in his lifetime heard of the fact that a sermon written by him when he was 28 years old was translated into English, and that this translation was printed in a city of the distant American colonies.

Mendelssohn's name does not appear on the title-page, but the fact is well known that at the request of the officers of the Berlin Jewish Congregation, Moses Mendelssohn several times composed German sermons, which were then delivered by the rabbi of the congregation.†

The original of the English Thanksgiving Sermon, which Professor Jastrow has discovered and dug out from the grave of oblivion, was undoubtedly the very first Jewish sermon ever composed in grammatically correct and pure German and printed in German type; and the Philadelphia translation of the same was also undoubtedly the very first translation of any of Mendelssohn's writings into a foreign language. That sermon was delivered, as stated on the title-page, by Rabbi David Hirsch Fränkel. This David Hirsch Fränkel was none other than Rabbi David ben Naphtali

* See Publications of the A. J. H. S., No. 1, p. 63.

† Dr. M. Kayserling: Moses Mendelssohn, sein Leben und seine Werke, first edition, p. 145.

Hirsch Fränkel, the author of *Korban ha-Edah*, who, while he was yet Rabbi in Dessau, had been young Moses Mendelssohn's first instructor in the Talmud. A very learned rabbi he was, but a sermon in grammatically correct German he was not able to write. His former pupil had to do this for him.

The Thanksgiving Sermon under consideration was delivered after a victory had been won by Frederick the Great over the Austrian forces, on December 5, 1757. If this date, which we copy from the title-page of the English translation of that sermon, be correct, then it must have been the victory won on that day by the Prussians in the battle of Leuthen, which gave occasion to the delivery of the sermon, and not, as Dr. Kayserling said, the victory won in the battle of Rossbach. For the battle of Rossbach was fought a month earlier, on November 5, 1757. Fürst, too, in his *Bibl. Jud.*, II., 363, commits the error of saying Rossbach instead of Leuthen.

THE CIVIL STATUS OF THE JEWS IN MARYLAND, 1634-1776.

BY J. H. HOLLANDER,

Fellow in the Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md.

The variety of colonial settlements in America resolves any survey of the development of the civil status of the Jews in this country into an examination of the experience of the several colonies and States. Attention has repeatedly been called to such incidents as the decision of the Legislative Assembly of New York in 1737, that no Jew could vote for a member of that body; as the attempted expulsion in 1808 of a member of the General Assembly of North Carolina because of his Jewish faith, and as the entire incapacity of a Jew to hold any State office in Maryland until the year 1826. The intimate relation of these facts to the history of American political toleration, and their immediate helpfulness in affording partial interpretation of the uncertain course of early Jewish immigration, suggest a more continuous study of the distinct threads of legal and constitutional development of which they form single episodes.

The preliminary results of such an inquiry with respect to the civil status of the Jews in Maryland are presented in the following pages. Viewed independently, the utility of the study appears largely akin to that of a dissertation upon the customs and habits of Irish snakes. During the century and a half of proprietary rule, Jews appear to have resided in Maryland never in any considerable number, to have practiced their faith at best in quiet, and at no time to have effected a religious organization. Even of these scattered individuals, the present condition of proprietary and colonial

records affords bare details. It seems probable, however, that precisely in the legal status of Jews in early Maryland is to be found explanation of their numerical paucity at a later period. Certainly it is clear that any intelligent consideration of the disabilities, left rather than imposed, in the inception of statehood must be preceded by some study of the implied status of Jews under the proprietary charter, of the modifications effected by provincial legislation, and of the influence of royal, government, and church establishment, culminating in the Declaration of Rights and the Constitution of 1776.

In the charter granted by Charles I. to Cecilius Calvert in 1632, three personal conditions are recognized rather than defined,—the freeholder, the freeman, and the resident or inhabitant. The distinctions become clearer when it is remembered that the royal grant contemplated a plantation primarily of Englishmen for Englishmen. One of the reasons of gift is: "that he (*the Lord Proprietor*) may transport a numerous colony of the English nation."* Again, "that the new colony may more happily increase by a multitude of people resorting thither," liberty of movement is given to "all the liegemen and subjects present and future of us."† It accordingly followed that any British subject transporting himself to Maryland became, in the absence of a special qualification, as a term of indenture, a freeman;‡ and upon the acquisition of land, a freeholder. A person not so born remained an alien and was incapacitated by the Common Law, in Maryland as in England, "from holding land or any public office, and even from exercising any civil

* Charter of Maryland, Sec. ii., in Bozman, *History of Maryland*, II. ff.

† *Ibid.*, Sec. ix.

‡ There is at least one instance, however, of a colonist serving as a member of the Provincial Assembly while still bound by an indenture of service. Compare Records of the Provincial Court, 1637-1650, Md. Archives, Vol. IV., p. 138, with Proceedings of the Assembly, 1637-1664, Md. Archives, Vol. I., p. 120.

rights.”* His status could be improved by naturalization through special act of the Provincial Assembly, or by denization under the Lord Proprietor’s letters patent. The apparent synonyms, resident and inhabitant, would seem to indicate this latter status of denizen.

The implied position of the Jew can now be easily determined. If he had not come from British soil he was as any other alien, void of all civil rights. By the statute of 7 Jac. I. c. 2, providing that no person should be naturalized before taking the sacrament, the full privileges of a British subject were effectually denied him.† He could, however, obtain letters of denization upon petition to the Lord Proprietor, and so secure not only the ordinary privileges of domicile, but the special rights permitted by the charter—freedom of importation and protection against arbitrary taxation.‡

If born, or long resident on English soil, the formal status of the Jew underwent no modification on removal to Maryland. The implied transference of English common law was supplemented by the distinct provision of the charter that the spirit of provincial legislation be “agreeable to the laws, statutes, customs and rights of this our kingdom of

* Taswell-Langmead, *English Constitutional History* (4th ed.), p. 694, note.

† The occurrence of occasional *quasi*-Jewish names in the lists of persons naturalized during the early years of the province (see Scharf, *History of Maryland*, II., 11, note) throws some doubt upon the entire accuracy of this statement with reference to the early period of proprietary rule.

‡ See *Charter of Maryland*, Secs. xv., xx. In actual practice the formal privileges granted by the Lord Proprietor’s patent of denization were much broader than those recognized by English law, and differed in few essentials from the rights conferred by a special act of naturalization. Thus, compare letters of denization in their ordinary form (see *Proceedings of Council*, 1636–1667, Md. Archives, Vol. III., p. 470) with Tomlins’ definition of “denizen” (*Law Dictionary*, under “alien”), on the one hand, and with the provisions of a special act of naturalization (see *Proceedings of Assembly*, 1666–1676, Md. Archives, Vol. II., p. 282), on the other.

England ”; and again, “that no interpretation of it be made whereby God’s holy and Christian religion may in anywise suffer by change, prejudice or diminution.”* In practice the Jew would enjoy certain civil rights in Maryland as in England. Left, however, to judicial determination, his status must have followed closely along the lines laid down in 1684 by the Attorney-General before the King’s Bench, to which Judge Daly has called attention—residence under an implied license which the King, the Lord Proprietor in Maryland, might at any time revoke, reducing the person affected to the condition of alien.†

The formal position of the Jew was gravely affected by early provincial legislation. In 1637, at the earliest session of the General Assembly of which any record survives, “an act for the liberties of the people ” was introduced, providing that “all the inhabitants of this province, being Christians, shall have and enjoy all such rights, privileges . . . within this province as any natural born subject of England hath.”‡ Like other bills of the session, the measure was read and engrossed but never passed. It seems, however, to have remained in effect until re-enacted two years later in the briefer form: “The inhabitants shall have all their rights and privileges according to the great charter of England.” If, as Bozman thinks,§ this was subject to the interpretation of the earlier act, Jews resident in Maryland were, almost from the first, divested of personal and civil rights not conferred by specific grant.

At the same session of the Assembly all inhabitants of the province were required to take “an oath of allegiance to his Majesty.” It is uncertain whether the English oath of allegiance of 3 Jac. I. c. 4, or a provincial “act for swear-

* Charter of Maryland, Secs. vii., xxii.

† See Daly, *Settlement of the Jews in North America*, p. 159.

‡ The text of the bill is given in Bozman, *History of Maryland*, II., 116.

§ *Ibid.*, II., 115.

ing allegiance" of the present session, is here referred to.* Both measures, however, agreed in providing that "every person of the age of eighteen years and upwards, inhabitants or that shall come hereafter to inhabit within this province," shall pronounce certain things "upon the faith† of a Christian." The penalty for non-compliance was imprisonment for the first refusal, forfeiture of estate and banishment for the second.

We are in no position to decide in how far the actual condition of the Jew was determined by these acts. On the whole they seem to represent the letter rather than the spirit of provincial legislation. The phrase of the "liberties" act is clearly formal and incidental. The oath of allegiance seems to have been applied, if at all, only while the loyalty of the palatinate was in doubt. In the oath of fidelity to the Lord Proprietor, which subsequently took its place, the objectionable phrase, "upon the faith of a Christian," does not appear.‡ This conjecture is in slight measure confirmed by the position of Mathias Sousa, or de Sousa, who resided in Maryland as early as 1633-4,§ and seems to have flourished in the period immediately following the passage of the acts.|| In 1641 he is recorded as leading a party to trade with the Susquehanoughs,¶ and almost at the same time he appears as a member of the Provincial Assembly.** Unfortunately, beyond the distinctiveness of the surname,

* Bozman, *History of Maryland*, II., 110. For the text of the oaths, *ibid.*, II., 599-600.

† "True faith," in the English oath.

‡ For text of the oath, see Bozman, II., 659.

§ Sousa's name appears at this early date in a list of indentured servants, cited by Neill from the Records of the Land Office; see Neill, *Founders of Maryland*, p. 91.

|| Records of the Provincial Court, 1637-1650, Md. Archives, Vol. IV., p. 84-85.

¶ Records of the Provincial Court, 1637-1650, Md. Archives, Vol. IV., pp. 138.

** Proceedings of the Assembly, 1637-1664, Md. Archives, Vol. I., p. 120.

there is no evidence of Jewish faith, and Sousa's experience is at best suggestive.*

The most serious infringement upon the status of the Jew in Maryland came, curiously enough, in the legislation designed to secure religious toleration in the province. The oath of office prescribed in 1648 by the Lord Proprietor bound the lieutenant-general not to "trouble, molest or discountenance any person . . . professing to believe in Jesus Christ . . . for or in respect of his or her religion." In 1649 this was crystallized in the famous "Act concerning Religion," where provision was again made that no person professing belief in Jesus Christ should be in anywise molested, but further, that any person blaspheming or simply denying "Jesus Christ to be the Son of God" should be punished with death and forfeiture of lands and goods.† Under Protestant influence this act was repealed in 1654 and a second measure passed disenfranchising the Roman Catholics, but extending toleration to other forms of Christian faith, and omitting the penalties clause.‡ In 1658, with the expiration of the interregnum, the force of the Protestant measure came to an end, and the Toleration Act of 1649 was made perpetual.§ It seems almost antiquarian to inquire into matters of Jewish status when bare profession of Jewish faith was thus punishable with death.

The experience of the well-known Dr. Jacob Lumbrozo, however, affords specific evidence of the milder interpreta-

* It is at least curious, however, to note that the first colonists of Maryland, in the voyage across the Atlantic in 1633-4, took the old route by the Azores and West Indies and stopped at the islands of St. Christopher and Barbados, "where they stayed some time" (Bozman, *History of Maryland*, II., 27), and that in the list of Jews resident "in and about the Towne of St Michael's," Barbados, in the year 1680, appears the name of Abraham Sousa (see *Publications of American Jewish Historical Society*, I., 105).

† For the text of the oath of office, see Bozman, II., 648; for that of the Act concerning Religion, *ibid.*, II., 661.

‡ Bozman, II., 512.

§ Browne, "Maryland: The History of a Palatinate," 88.

tion put upon this statute. Lumbrozo lived in Maryland in undisturbed quiet as a recognized, and probably as a professed Jew from at least January 1656 to February 1658. His arrest for blasphemy even then was less the result of general intolerance than of the activity of such single zealots as the notorious Josiah Cole and Richard Preston. After Lumbrozo's release, no further attempt was made to vindicate the letter of the law, and we find him gradually exercising the rights almost of a fully naturalized person. A partial explanation of this civil recognition lies undoubtedly in the high economic importance of Lumbrozo. In a community in which Richard Purlivant, barber-chirurgion, could receive one hundred acres for having transplanted himself at his own charge into the province, and two hundred more for "having practiced his art to the benefit of the inhabitants of our Isle of Kent,"* and in which the death-sentence of a blacksmith could be commuted to penal servitude because of the usefulness of his services,† it is easy to see that a Jewish physician would be reasonably certain of undisturbed residence. Whether in any less useful capacity Lumbrozo's position would have been as secure is at least an open question. Even as it was, the arrest for blasphemy was no bit of pleasantry, and but for the general amnesty proclaimed in the province ten days later, upon the accession of Richard Cromwell to the English protectorate, must have ended in some serious consequence.‡ Lumbrozo himself seems to have appreciated this. He is no more referred to as "the Jew Doctor," and "Jacob Lum-

* Browne, Maryland, 49.

† *Ibid.*, 53.

‡ Lumbrozo was tried and remanded on the charge of blasphemy on February 23, 1658. Governor Fendall's proclamation, with the broad message, "I doe hereby pardon & acquit all & every person or persons wch (to) this Court in any criminal Cause stood indicted convicted or condemned to dye," bears date of March 3, 1658. See Proceedings of the Provincial Court, 1658-1662, (MS.) folio 215.

brozo" gradually yields to "Jacob, *alias* John Lumbrozo," and finally to plain "John Lumbrozo."*

Lumbrozo seems to have died in May, 1666. I find record of what is apparently a posthumous child, John Lumbrozo, born in June, 1666.† But the widow marries almost immediately thereafter, and it is easy to understand the disappearance of the name.‡ Names of a distinctly

*The trial for blasphemy is the last instance in which I find the word "Jew" associated with his name. "Jacob Lumbrozo" is found in most of the judgments issued by the Provincial and County Courts for or against him from 1658 to 1662. The *alias* appears in the petition for letters of denization and in the land grant of 1662. Thereafter, "John Lumbrozo" is used almost exclusively and even appears in his will. See for this and other details of Lumbrozo's life, a paper by the present writer: "Some Unpublished Material relating to Dr. Jacob Lumbrozo, of Maryland," in Publications of American Jewish Historical Society, I., p. 28 ff.

†"John Lumbrozo Sone of John Lumbrozo dec^d [*deceased*] was borne in the month of June Anno Dei 1666." See Charles County Court Records, Liber C, folio 266, in the Land Office at Annapolis. The abbreviation immediately preceding the parenthesis is unfortunately illegible. For the same reasons which have hitherto led me to assign Lumbrozo's death to May, 1666, I am inclined to the very possible reading "deceased."

‡ The early re-marriage of Mistress Lumbrozo is evident from the text of the proceedings in the Prerogative Court of the Province upon the estate of the deceased Dr. Lumbrozo: "Letters of Adm^{rsn} issued as in usuall forme to the sd Elizabeth Browne, now the wife of John Browne as the late Relict & Exect^{ix} ag^t the Estate of John Lumbrozo Chirurgion of Charles County her late dec^d husband." See Testamentary Proceedings, Liber II., (MS.) folio 92. Curiously enough, this second matrimonial venture seems to have been cut short. I find the will of this John Browne, dated November 2, 1666, and so placed in the probate records as to make it reasonably certain that his death occurred soon thereafter. See Testamentary Proceedings, Liber II., (MS.) folio 91. All possible doubt of identity is removed by the bequest in this document of "all the chattles and household effects now remayning which formerly belonged to my predecessor John Lumbrozo." It is interesting to note also that the estate is left largely in trust for "my son John," which may or may not refer to the child whose birth is recorded above.

Jewish character appear at intervals in the accessible records from 1660 to the overthrow of the proprietary government in 1692, always without mention of any communal organization, or indeed of bare profession of faith. Of this character are David Ferreira, Francis Hyems, Abraham Hart, Daniel Mathena, Jacob Leah, Solimon Barbarah, Sarah Hayes, Philip Salomon, Joseph Lazear, Mathias de Costa, Isaac de Barette, Hester Cordea and Isaack Bedlo. Argument from mere nomenclature is clearly insecure and hazardous. The most enthusiastic searcher grows dubious after running so promising a scent as Mark Pheypo to the covert of "had license to kill swine." Whatever such evidence may suggest, it affords no more positive conclusion than this: that while the Jew in proprietary Maryland was *de jure* without civil rights, denied freedom of residence and liable to punishment of death for bare profession of faith; *de facto* he was permitted undisturbed domicile, and gradually allowed the exercise of certain undefined rights.

The reduction of the palatinate to a crown colony in 1692 led naturally to church establishment. An early act of the reorganized Assembly divided the ten counties of the Province into parishes, and imposed an annual tax of forty pounds per poll for the benefit of the Protestant Church.* Ecclesiastical organization, it seems, tended to identify citizenship with church membership and to disenfranchise the professed Jew in the province at large. The broader organization of the cities, whither the Jew would naturally gravitate, permitted some political recognition. Thus the charter of Annapolis, granted in 1708, conferred the suffrage upon any person possessing a freehold or a visible estate of twenty pounds sterling.† Those of other cities and towns gradually followed with similar privileges. But even here the Jew could hold no office. The Act of 1715 reorganizing the established Church provided that the oath of abjuration

* Browne, *Maryland*, p. 185.

† McMahon, *History of Maryland*, p. 255.

terminating "upon the true faith of a Christian" should be administered to "all persons that already have or shall hereafter be admitted to have or enjoy any office or place of trust within this province."* This exclusion was perfected in the following year by the addition of the oaths of allegiance and abhorrency and the test, to the last two of which no conscientious Jew could subscribe.† No essential modification was made of this requirement until sixty years later, when it was embodied in the fundamental law of the State.

Whatever recognition the Jew could thus obtain, it is also necessary to remember, was accorded entirely upon sufferance. Profession of faith still remained punishable in the eye of the law with death. In 1723 the intolerance of the Toleration Act of 1649 was revived by an act—repealing an apparently similar measure of 1715—"to punish blasphemers, swearers, drunkards." It, however, did much more than this in the opening enactment, that "if any person shall hereafter within this province . . . deny our Saviour Jesus Christ to be the Son of God, or shall deny the Holy Trinity," he should for the first offense be fined and have his tongue bored; for the second, fined and have his head burned; for the third, be put to death.‡ This act likewise remained unrepealed until after the adoption of the State Constitution.

From the restoration of the Lord Proprietor, in 1715, until the outbreak of the Revolution I find rare mention of Jewish names. The Jewish settlements at Schaefersville and Lancaster seem to have contributed little to the stream of German immigration which flowed steadily from southeastern Pennsylvania into Frederick county, Maryland. Similarly the Jewish communities of Philadelphia and New York do not appear to have yielded to the commercial inducements offered by the more southerly colony. The absence of such contact suggests either a deliberate avoid-

*Bacon, Laws of Maryland, 1715, Chap. XXX. The pages in Bacon are unnumbered.

† *Ibid.*, 1716, Chap. V.

‡ Bacon, Laws of Maryland, 1723, Chap. XV.

ance of the province or an avowal of Jewish faith with some reserve during residence therein. The evidence is, however, entirely negative, and until a larger historical spirit will have placed the splendid records of the Parishes, the Prerogative Courts, the Land Office and the Provincial and County Courts of Maryland in some more accessible form, the conclusions reached are at best tentative.

Church establishment terminated with the fall of proprietary rule and emergence into statehood. With it fell, too, the force of the legislation which for a century and a half had declared profession of Jewish faith a capital offense. The practical identification in men's minds of citizenship and church membership, and the subscription to doctrinal oaths as a preliminary requisite to political office, could not, however, be swept away as easily.

In September, 1776, a Declaration of Rights and a formal Constitution was presented to the Provisional Convention by a committee of five members appointed a month before. For three weeks the report was discussed by the Convention in committee of the whole. Of the debate, unfortunately, no record is preserved. Few changes were added in the open house, and in November, 1776, the documents became the fundamental law of the State.* The thirty-fifth article of the Declaration of Rights provided: "That no other test or qualification ought to be required on admission to any office of trust or profit than such oath of support and fidelity to this State, and such oath of office as shall be directed by this Convention or the Legislature of this State, and a declaration of belief in the Christian religion."† The test of the oath of fidelity was given in the fifty-fifth article of the Constitution, and the requirement that the person so appointed "shall also subscribe a declaration of his belief in the Christian religion" was repeated.‡

* See Green, *Laws of Maryland and the Proceedings of the Convention, 1774-1776* (Annapolis, 1787), pp. 308-310.

† Poore, *Charters and Constitutions*, I., 820.

‡ *Ibid.*, I., 828.

Henceforth the Jew in Maryland was secure in his religious profession and vested with certain political privileges. But the largest civic recognition was still withheld, and not until half a century later, after a persistent struggle extending over more than half this interval, was the fullest equality in the eye of the law accorded him. This chapter of the story, however, must be left to form the subject of an independent study.

FAMILY HISTORY OF THE REVEREND DAVID MENDEZ MACHADO.

BY N. TAYLOR PHILLIPS, LL. B., *New York.*

David Mendez Machado reached America at a time when the entire white population of the original States of this Union was less by half than that now contained in the city of New York, and the beginnings of at least one American city are identified with the advent of himself and family. He was a very young man, probably in the neighborhood of twenty-one years of age, when, in company with members of the Nunez family, to which he appears to have been related prior to his marriage, he left Lisbon, Portugal, in the year 1732, under somewhat remarkable circumstances. Dr. Samuel Nunez, whose daughter he subsequently married, was an eminent physician in Lisbon during the Inquisition. They, although of the Jewish persuasion, with members of the Machado family and others, had long been professing Christianity, but by pursuing their religious devotions privately, were enabled to remain secretly true to the faith of their ancestors. The Doctor was one of the court physicians, but even this did not save him from the wrath of the Grand Inquisitor when it was ascertained that his Christianity was but a pretense; he, with the members of his family, was cast into prison, and remained there until the medical services of the Doctor being called into requisition, they were liberated by the Ecclesiastical Council upon the advice of the Grand Inquisitor, on condition, however, that two officials of the Inquisition should reside in the family as spies upon their religious practices. About this time an elder brother of David Mendez Machado was discovered covertly following some Jewish tenets, and was given the choice of either publicly renouncing Judaism in the Cathedral at

Lisbon on Christmas morning, or of being burned at the stake. His courage failed him and he consented to be led into the Cathedral, but once before the effigies, the character of determination peculiar to his people returned to him with such overwhelming force that he concluded to die rather than thus openly sacrifice his principles. Turning to the figure of the Virgin Mary, he addressed to it an amusing reflection upon the birth of Christ. This witticism cost him his life, as he was immediately led out and burnt.

The following account of the departure from Lisbon of the Nunez family together with Machado and others is quoted from an interesting writer*: "The Doctor had a large and elegant mansion on the banks of the Tagus, and being a man of large fortune he was in the habit of entertaining the principal families of Lisbon. On a pleasant summer day he invited a party to dinner, and among the guests was a captain of an English brigantine anchored at some distance in the river. While the company were amusing themselves on the lawn, the captain invited the family and part of the company to accompany him on board the brigantine and partake of a lunch prepared for the occasion. All the family, together with the spies of the Inquisition and a portion of the guests, repaired on board the vessel, and while they were below in the cabin enjoying the hospitality of the captain, the anchor was weighed, the sails unfurled, and the wind being fair, the brigantine shot out of the Tagus, was soon at sea, and carried the whole party to England. It had been previously arranged between the Doctor and the captain, who had agreed for a thousand moidores in gold to convey the family to England, and who were under the painful necessity of adopting this plan of escape to avoid detection. The ladies had secreted all their diamonds and jewels, which were quilted in their dresses, and the Doctor having previously changed all his securities into gold, it was distributed among the gentlemen of the family and carried around them in

* "Statistics of Georgia," by George White.

leathern belts. His house, plate, furniture, servants, equipage, and even the dinner cooked for the occasion were all left, and were subsequently seized by the Inquisition and confiscated to the state. On the arrival of Doctor Nunez and family in London, the settlement of Georgia and the fine climate and soil of that country were the subjects of much speculation. The celebrated John Wesley and his brother Charles had resolved to embrace the occasion of visiting this El Dorado, and when the ship which conveyed Governor Oglethorpe to that new settlement was about sailing, the Doctor and his whole family embarked as passengers, not one of whom could speak the English language."

This account, which was furnished by the late Major Mordecai M. Noah, a great-grandson of David Mendez Machado, is substantially correct, with the exception of the statement that nothing was carried away except money and jewels, as there are certain pieces of silver plate now in the possession of Machado's descendants in Philadelphia, and others belonging to the writer, which were borne away on that memorable occasion. Regarding the remark that the emigrants came in the same vessel with Oglethorpe, the manuscript written by one of the Sheftalls, also of the party, puts it in the same way, but the records do not appear to bear this out, but make the arrival some months subsequent to that of Oglethorpe. I have heard my father, the late Isaac Phillips, say that for years after their arrival in this country the female members of the family were unable to repeat their prayers without the assistance of the Catholic rosary, by reason of the habit acquired in Portugal for the purpose of lending the appearance of Catholic form should they be surprised while at their devotions. The story of the passage from London to Savannah is told in an entertaining manner in "The History of the Settlement of the Jews in North America," by Judge Charles P. Daly, recently published, and it is not necessary to recount it here, except to say that it was in the summer of 1733 that they arrived at their destination. Shortly after their arrival, Machado

married Zipporah, daughter of Dr. Samuel Nunez, above referred to. Machado did not remain long in Savannah, for within a year he had accepted the position of Hazan (Reader) of the Spanish and Portuguese Congregation Shearith Israel, in New York city. I possess a book entitled *Dinim on Schechita*, by Aaron Mendoza, printed in London in the year 5493 (1733) in the Spanish language, which belonged to Hazan Machado and afterwards to Ishac (Isaac) Nunez Henriques, one of the party who emigrated to Savannah with Nunez and Machado; Hazan Machado's name is written in it in Hebrew in his own handwriting. The Henriques here mentioned died on Tuesday, July 7, 1767, in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. Hazan Machado also had authority to grant license to kill cattle (Shechita) and inspect or examine the same (Bedika) according to Jewish law. On the fly-leaf of the book appears the following, written by him in 1736 while Hazan at New York :

"Licenses that I gave.	5496.	
Zachary Polak.		Bedika.
Solomon Hays.		Shechita.
J. Hart.		"
Jacob Isaacs.		"
Abraham Triste.		"
David Gomez.		"
Moses Ramos.		"
Migores Muyors (Myers).		"
David Seby.		"
Haim Bun.		"
Benjamin Pereira.		"
Solomon Hart for the Kaal.	Shochet and Bodek.	
Jacob Pinto.	Shochet and Bodek.	
Moses Lopez Ramos.	"	
Joseph bar Selomo.	"	
Daniel a' Cohen.	"	
I. Nunez Henriques.	"	
Abraham Pinto Bodek ditto Kaal (Congregation)."		

The names on this list are interesting, among them being those of the prominent members of the congregation at that time. David Gomez, for example, is well known, being one of the brothers of that name who purchased a portion of the Cemetery of the Congregation on New Bowery in 1729, and long a valuable and esteemed member of the Congregation. He was born August 14, 1697, and died July 16, 1769. Benjamin Pereira (surnamed Mendez, and frequently known by that name) was for a while Reader of the Congregation, as the immediate successor of Machado upon the latter's death. Jacob Pinto and Abraham Pinto, the latter being here noted as the Bodek of the Congregation, were members of the Pinto family, long prominent for their wealth. Abraham Pinto died a very old man, Adar 27, 1797. Another member, Rachel Pinto, died in the year 1815, at the advanced age of ninety-one years, leaving large charitable bequests to the Congregation and its societies. Still another, Joseph Jesurun Pinto, was Reader from 1759 to 1766. Isaac Pinto died January 17, 1791, aged seventy years. Isaac Nunez Henriques, before noticed, evidently improved himself in the art for which he then received letters, as I have another book in the Spanish language containing certain wholesome rules and regulations founded upon his experience as Shochet, in his own writing, signed by him and dated 1740.

David Machado and Zipporah Nunez Machado had but two children. One of them, Rebecca, who was born on Stone street, in the city of New York, November 17, 1746, was married, November 10, 1762, in the city of Philadelphia, to Jonas Phillips; the other, Sarah, married Mr. Moses, of Charleston, S. C. They had a son, Israel, father of Raphael Moses, lately deceased, and grandfather of the present Raphael Moses, Jr., of New York. David Machado died about the year 1753 in New York, being then Hazan. Machado's widow shortly thereafter married Israel Jacobs, of Pennsylvania. They had a daughter, named Rachel, who

married Jacob I. Cohen, of Philadelphia (uncle of the late Mendez Cohen, of Baltimore, whose brother David was the father of the present Mendez Cohen of that city). Mrs. Machado, or Jacobs, died in Philadelphia, November 16, 1799, aged eighty-eight years. She was a woman of many accomplishments, conversant with several languages, and until her death maintained a lofty dignity, and was known in her earlier years as a great beauty. Her marriage with Jacobs was considered somewhat of a *mesalliance*, he being a man of ordinary attainments. He was familiarly known by the term "Daddy," applied on account of his fondness for children, from whom when separated he was never happy and in whose society he spent much of his time. I have his portrait, a fine, large oil painting, and it is said to have been an excellent likeness. He probably survived his wife, although the date of his death is not certain. The following is a copy of a record respecting Hazan Machado now contained in the archives of the Congregation Shearith Israel in the City of New York. It contains a list of some deceased members and all Readers of the Congregation; the latter appear in this order: No. 1, Benjamin Wolf; No. 2, Moses Lopez Da Fonseca; No. 3, David Mendez Machado, and concludes as follows:

"The subscribers having been appointed for the purpose, have carefully searched and examined the Memorandum and Books heretofore kept by the Hazanim as instituted by Hazan Joseph Jesurun Pinto in 5519 (1759), and continued until this day—find the aforementioned names (and no others) entitled to Ashcboth as noted above—and conceive that the same should be carefully recorded in the Book of Minutes of K. K. Sherith (*sic*) Israel—and they beg leave to observe that as by an Ascama the Hazanim as above noted have an Ashcaba on Kippur afternoon—that in Honor to the Memory of Benjamin Pereira and Joseph Jesurun Pinto, who were Hazanim of the K. K. we recommend that a Resolution of the Trustees be passed in favor of the Deceased Hazanim

last mentioned, placing their names on the same list. New York, 20 Iyar, 5551 (1791).*

(Signed)

G. SEIXAS,
BENJ. S. JUDAH,
Committee."

The marriage of Rebecca Mendez Machado, daughter of the Hazan, and Jonas Phillips is entered in the records of the Congregation Shearith Israel in New York as follows: "On the 24 of Hesvan, 10 November, 1762, was married at Philadelp^a, Mr. Jonas Philips (*sic*) of our Congregation with Miss Rebeca, daugh^r of the Late Hazan of this Kahal, Mr. Dav^d Mendez Machado." She inherited many of the qualities possessed by her mother, and more especially her dignity of person and refinement, which were preserved unimpaired until her death.

Jonas Phillips was born in Germany in the year 1736. The place of his birth is variously stated to be Busick and Frankfort-on-the-Main. He was the son of Aaron Phillips (Aaron Uri bar Moshé Naptali). He was a Shochet, and I have a Hebrew book which belonged to him on laws of Shechita; it contains his autograph and the date 1752. Jonas Phillips arrived in America in the month of November, 1756, on the vessel "Charming Nancy" from London. He landed in Charleston, S. C., but shortly thereafter removed to New York and engaged in mercantile pursuits. The following is a copy of a certificate of character given to Jonas Phillips by Moses Lindo, at his request, in the year 1773, the original of which is extant:

"South Carolina—

To all whom these Presents shall come Greeting:

Know ye that before me Fenwicke Bull one of his majesty's

*This list of Hazanim continues to date as follows: Benjamin Pereira Mendez, Joseph d'Ishac Jeshurun Pinto, Jacob Raphael Cohen, Emanuel Nunez Carvalho, Gershom Mendez Seixas, Moses Levi Maduro Peixotto, Isaac Mendez Seixas, Jacques J. Lyons.

Justices assigned to keep the Peace for Charles Town District, and a Notary Publick by lawful authority appointed, duly admitted and sworn, dwelling and practising on the Bay in Charles Town and Province aforesaid in North America, Personally appeared Moses Lindo, Esquire, Inspector General and Surveyor of Indigo, Drugs and Dyes for this Province, South Carolina, and he being duly sworn made oath as follows, Viz. That, He the said Moses Lindo arrived in this Province in the Month of November, 1756, in the good vessel called the Charming Nancy, Commanded by Captain William White that some Three months before he left London he engaged in his Service to come with him to this Province one Mr. Jonas Phillips that after their arrival together in the same Vessel here, the said Jonas Phillips lived with this Deponent some months : That during the whole time that the said Jonas Phillips was in this Deponents employ He the said Jonas did behave and deport himself to this Deponent, Faithfully and Honestly, nor doth this Deponent know of any contrary behaviour in him the said Jonas to or towards any other Person.—This Deponent further declares that he believes the said Jonas trustworthy even of Gold untold ; and this Deponent did formerly give a good and fair Character of the said Jonas Phillips to Mr. Benjamin Gomez of the City of New York. And further this Deponent said not.

In Testimony of the Truth whereof the said deponent Moses Lindo, Esquire hath hereunto subscribed his Name and I the said Notary have also set my Hand and Affixed my Seal of Office as Notary this Thirteenth day of July one Thousand seven Hundred and seventy Three and in the Thirteenth year of his Majesty's Reign.

MOSES LINDO.

(Seal)

FENWICKE BULL. J. V.

& Notary Public.

1773.

Chas. Town."

He was married in Philadelphia, where Miss Machado and her family then resided, but continued thereafter to live in New York. Jonas Phillips was a Free Mason, the fact being attested by a certificate of membership in a Lodge of Free Masons in New York city. It is somewhat remarkable, being elaborately engrossed on parchment. The following is a copy :

“And the Darkness comprehended it not.

In the East, a Place full of Light, where Reigns Silence and Peace.

We the Master, Wardens, and Secretary of the Worshipfull Lodge of Free and Accepted Masons No. 4 of the Registry of New York, Adorned with all their Honors and Assembled in Due Form, Do Hereby Declare, Certify and Attest to all Men, Enlightened, Spread upon the Face of the Earth, That the Bearer Hereof, Jonas Phillips hath been received an Entered Apprentice and Fellow Craft, and after Tryall and due proof, have given him the Sublime Degree of Master Mason, and he Safely and Lawfully may without Demurr, be admitted into and Accepted of, and Received, by any to whom these Presents may come.

Given under our Hands, and the Seal of our Lodge, in the City of New York in the year of Masonry 5760, and in the year of our Lord, 1760.

(Signed) JOHN MARSHALL, Master.

“ JOHN THOMPSON, Senr. Wardn.

“ GEORGE HARRIS, Junr. Wardn.

ABRM. SKINNER, Secr’y.”

In the Directory of the City of New York for the year 1769, which may be found in Valentine’s Manual for 1856, Jonas Phillips is therein returned as a “retailer”; that he was actively engaged in business at this time is also shown by the following, the original of which is still in the family :

"To all whom it may concern :

Permit the Bearer hereof, Jonas Phillips, Auctioneer to sell goods at Publick Vendue in any part of the Province of New York without any molestation whatsoever, he having entered in recognisans and given security to conform to a Law of the said Province, subject to a duty of three per cent to be paid to the Treasurer of the said Province of New York. Given under my Hand this thirtieth day of July, one thousand seven hundred and seventy one, and in the eleventh year of his Majesty's Reign.

DAN'L. HORMANDEN."

And also this Draft :

"Exchange for £25 Sterling,
Newport, Aug^t 18, 1770. (Seal.)

Thirty days after sight please to pay this our first of exchange second and third unpaid To Mr. Jonas Phillips or order twenty five pounds Sterling Value Rec^d and place the same to acct. of

Your hum^b Ser^{mts}
HAYS & POLACK.

To Mr. Jacob Henry Chavanell

Mewlot

Amsterdam

(Indorsement.)

Please pay the within to Mr. Gumpel Samson or order.

(Signed) JONAS PHILLIPS."

About the year 1773 he must have become involved in some charge reflecting upon his integrity, at which time the certificate of character by Mr. Moses Lindo was applied for and granted to him, and it was accompanied by the following letter from Joshua Hart, of the family of that name prominent in the affairs of the Congregation at Charleston, S. C.

“ Charles Town, South Carolina,
July 14th, 1773.

Mr. Jonas Phillips,
Sr.

This Moment Moses Lindo, Esqr. was with me and delivered me an Instrument of writing which he requested I would inclose in a Letter to you. I have accordingly complied with the same and sincerely wish he may have the desired effect. He likewise presented me with your Letter for my perusal and am extreem sorry you should be censured with a crime that you really are innocent of. I remember at the latter part of your residing in this province you made your stay at my house in which time your conduct was such as merited the esteem of every good person. I hope this may find you and your good family in good health, and am, Sr.

Your Most humble Servt.

JOSHUA HART.

P. S. Mr. Lindo having a deal of business on hand prevented his writing to you.”

Nothing more is known of this matter, but from the language in Mr. Hart's letter it would seem that Mr. Lindo possessed the power to disprove the allegations, whatever they may have been.

When the Revolution broke out in 1776, or rather in the mutterings which for a few years preceded that event, Jonas Phillips enlisted warmly in support of the patriot cause, and worked energetically among the other members of the Congregation, in which his influence was beginning to be felt, to range them upon the side of liberty, notwithstanding a determination upon the part of many to remain in New York, and continue the Synagogue under Tory supervision, of which faction there was a large and important clique in New York. When the argument was advanced that temporary flight and the abandonment of the Synagogue property might mean the final dissolution of the Congregation, which

was then well and firmly established, he contended that it were better that the Congregation should die in the cause of liberty than to live and submit to the impositions of an arrogant government. This position was finally decided upon favorably, and Philadelphia was selected as the temporary city of refuge. The Scrolls of the Law and portable valuables of the Congregation were securely locked in a box and given in custody of the Reverend Gershom Mendez Seixas, with instructions to take them to Philadelphia from Stratford (to which place the Reader retired on August 22, 1776) at such time as there would seem to be a probability of establishing a service in that city under the auspices of the refugees. After removing to Philadelphia, where his wife's family resided, Jonas Phillips lived at No. 110 North Second Street and engaged in the same business as that which he had prosecuted in New York. The following is a copy of a license to trade, the original of which is still in existence:

"Philadelphia City, ss
No. 109.

To ALL before whom these Presents shall come.

This may certify that Jonas Phillips Merchant of the City having complied with the several Requisitions prescribed by the Forestalling Laws of this State, is hereby permitted to buy, sell, and trade under the Limitations and Restrictions mentioned in said Laws.

Given under my Hand and Seal this Twenty Fourth Day of September, 1778.

(Seal) EPHRAIM BONHAM, Comr."

Notwithstanding his activity in the business world, he did not allow its allurements to take him from what he conceived to be his duty to the young Republic which he had so earnestly and actively supported from its earliest moments; and when a special effort was made in the fall of 1778 to reinforce the hosts of the new nation, he laid aside the duties of his

calling to swell the ranks of the men fighting for freedom. We find it of record that on the 31st of October, 1778, he enlisted in Captain John Linton's company in the battalion of Philadelphia militia under Colonel William Bradford of the well-known family of that name, and within a few days thereafter the company was mustered into the service of the United States.* How long he remained with the forces, and in what engagements he participated, cannot be stated at present, owing to defects in the public record, but possibly research among private memoranda may show this fact, and also at what rank he was mustered out.

After the arrival in Philadelphia of the members of the Congregation from New York, prayers continued to be said at a house rented for that purpose in Cherry Alley, between Third and Fourth streets, until in March, 1782, a committee was appointed, of which Jonas Phillips was a member, to purchase ground for a Synagogue, and having concluded the purchase of the same from Robert Parrish and Henry Hill in Cherry street, west of Third street, a Synagogue was erected and dedicated on September 13, 1782. The Reverend Gershom Mendez Seixas having, agreeably to the arrangement hereinbefore noted, arrived in Philadelphia on June 6, 1780, bringing with him the property of the Congregation of New York, officiated there until the consecration of the new Synagogue, on which occasion he conducted the services. Jonas Phillips was President of the Congregation (which had been named Mickve Israel). Michael Gratz, Solomon Marache, Solomon Myers Cohen, and Simon Nathan were Trustees, and Benjamin Seixas, brother of the Reader, was Treasurer. Among these names may be seen some of those who had lived in New York. Jonas Phillips, as President of the Congregation, addressed a letter to General George Washington, inviting him to be present at the consecration, to which the General very graciously replied.

* See "Pennsylvania Associators and Militia in the Revolution." Volume I, page 682.

In the year 1784, the Revolution having happily terminated, many of the members of the New York Congregation returned to that city, and several of the more prominent, under the leadership of Benjamin Mendez Seixas and Heyman Levy, instituted vigorous efforts to re-establish the Congregation in its former position; but owing to their inability to attract to his former pastorate Gershom Mendez Seixas, who was then officiating in Philadelphia, great difficulty was experienced in placing the Congregation on a substantial basis. But when in the spring of the same year the Hazan was finally persuaded to return to New York, nearly all those who had left nine years before returned with him, including the members of his own family, which was numerous. Jonas Phillips also returned to New York at this time, and made preparations to resume his former avocation, which the following copy of his appointment as a public "vendue master," which is still in the possession of the family, will demonstrate:

"City of New York, ss:—By James Duane Mayor of the City of New York.

To Jonas Philipse of the said City of New York, Merchant, Greeting:

WHEREAS by virtue of an Act of the Legislature of the State of New York entitled "An Act for the regulations of sales by publick auction" made and passed the 20th. day of February, 1784; and of an other Act of the said Legislature entitled "An Act to repeal certain acts respecting attornies, Solicitors and Counsellors at Law; and also part of the Act entitled an "Act for the regulation of Sales by public auction," passed the 6th. day of April, 1786; I, the said Mayor am duly authorized to license and appoint Auctioneers or Vendue Masters in and for the City and County of New York on their taking the oaths of abjuration and allegiance and giving the security for that purpose therein prescribed and directed, and

WHEREAS, you the said Jonas Philipse have taken such oaths and given such security in due form of Law :

NOW THEREFORE I the said Mayor do by these presents authorize, empower and license you the said Jonas Philipse to act and officiate as and to be, one of the publick vendue masters and auctioneers within the said City and County of New York according to the true intent and meaning of the said Laws. Given under my hand this seventh day of July in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and eighty six and of our Independence the eleventh.

JAS. DUANE."

His stay in New York, however, was of short duration ; the ties formed by a residence in Philadelphia of nearly a decade were not to be so easily shaken off, and so he determined to return there. This he did shortly afterwards, and we find that on the 28th of June, 1789, by a Resolution of the Board of Trustees of the Congregation Mickve Israel of Philadelphia, he was made the custodian of the deed of the property on which the Synagogue was erected. He resided in Philadelphia without interruption until his death, which occurred on Saturday morning, Shabat 6, 5563, January 29, 1803. Shortly prior thereto, having participated in a quarrel regarding the management of the affairs of the Congregation, he withdrew from membership in it, and for that reason did not wish his remains to lie in its cemetery. They were accordingly brought to New York and interred in the cemetery of the Congregation Shearith Israel on Oliver street, on the Monday following his decease. His widow continued her residence in Philadelphia until her death, which occurred on Tuesday, June 21, 1831, at No. 41 North Fourth street in that city. She never remarried, and was treated with marked attention. I have heard it stated by those who remembered the circumstance that for many years, after service was concluded on the Sabbath, nearly the whole Congregation filed into her house, which was not far from the

Synagogue, in order to pay her their respects. She was interred in the cemetery of the Congregation Mickve Israel on Spruce street in Philadelphia. The following is a copy of a bill rendered to her by the Congregation in the year 1812, the original of which I have :

“Philadelphia, First Quarter, 1812.

Mrs. Rebecca Phillips,

To K. K. Mickvey Israel,

Dr.

To amount of subscription this quarter

\$2.—

To offerings

Received payment,

A. MYERS COHEN,

Gabay.”

Jonas Phillips and Rebecca Mendez Machado had twenty-one children, some of whom, however, died in their infancy. Among them were Uriah, born in 1763, died an infant; Phila, born 1766, married Isaac Pesoa of Philadelphia, died 1853; David Machado, born 1768, died in Surinam, unmarried; Sarah and Rachel, twins, born 1769, the first of whom died an infant, and the latter married Michael Levy, father of the late Commodore Uriah P. Levy, U. S. N., died 1839, and buried at Monticello, Va., the home of Thomas Jefferson; Judith, who died young in 1770; Hindlah, born 1771, died the following year; Naphtali, father of Isaac Phillips, formerly Appraiser of the port of New York, born 1773, married 1797 at Newport, R. I., Rachel, daughter of Jochebed Levy and Moses Mendez Seixas, and subsequently in 1823 married at New York, Esther, daughter of Zipporah Levy and Benjamin Mendez Seixas, both nieces of Hazan Gershom Mendez Seixas, died 1870; Benjamin J., father of Jonas B. Phillips, formerly Assistant District Attorney of New York, born in Philadelphia, 1776, married Abagail, daughter of Benjamin M. Seixas, died in New York, 1830; Manuel, a physician of some note in New York and Philadelphia, died

in Vera Cruz in 1826, being at the time a surgeon in the army and unmarried; Esther, who married Myer Moses of Charleston, S. C.; Joseph, who died in 1854, a soldier in the War of 1812, married Rachel Cauffman; Aaron J., born in Philadelphia, and died in 1826, unmarried, well and favorably known as an actor and playwright of some merit; Zipporah, who married Manuel Noah, father of the late Major Mordecai M. Noah; Zalegman, father of the Hon. Henry M. Phillips, formerly a member of Congress from Pennsylvania, born in 1779 in Philadelphia, married Arabella, daughter of M. Solomon, and died in 1839. He was for many years the leader of the criminal bar of Philadelphia.

NOTE CONCERNING DAVID HAYS AND ESTHER ETTING HIS WIFE, AND MICHAEL HAYS AND REUBEN ETTING, THEIR BROTHERS, PATRIOTS OF THE REVOLUTION.*

BY SOLOMON SOLIS-COHEN, *Philadelphia.*†

The modest record of humble duty, simply done, which is here presented, is gathered partly from traditions preserved by my mother,‡ who heard them from her mother,§ the daughter and niece of the subjects of this sketch, and partly from books, letters, deeds and other documents in the possession of my mother and sister, and of my kinsman, Daniel Peixotto Hays, Esq., of New York.|| Fire, water, and the tooth of time, incarnate in the form of a small rodent, have unfortunately destroyed many papers and so mutilated others as to render the data fragmentary and imperfect.

Westchester County, New York, by reason both of its strategical importance and of the large number of Tories scattered among its patriotic population, was the scene of almost constant warfare, regular and irregular, during the whole period of the British occupation of New York. In that county lived and wrought the subjects of this sketch. At the outbreak of the Revolution Michael Hays was a farmer at Northeastle,¶ and his youngest brother David, who had

* Presented at the meeting held at Philadelphia, December 15, 1892.

† Great-grandson of David and Esther Etting Hays.

‡ Judith Simha Solis, wife of Myer David Cohen, and daughter of Jacob da Silva Solis and his wife Charity Hays.

§ Charity Hays Solis.

|| Son of David Hays and Judith Peixotto, his wife; David Hays being the son of Benjamin Etting Hays and Sarah Myers, his wife; Benjamin Etting Hays being the son of David Hays and Esther Etting, his wife.

¶ In a deed dated 1774 he is described as "yeoman"; in previous deeds (1753 and 1765), as "trader" and "merchant."

served in the New York contingent at Braddock's field, had returned to peaceful occupations as a farmer and storekeeper at Bedford. Michael was a man advanced in years; David was in the prime of life, having been born in 1732.

From a fragment of a memorandum in the handwriting of Michael Hays it appears that in 1776 or earlier he was driven from his farm, which remained for six years in the hands of the enemy.* With the farm the enemy likewise took possession of 74 head of cattle and other stores, the list of which was upon the missing fragments of the record. It is possible that these stores had been gathered for the Colonial army, and that their presence at Hays's farm was the cause of the enemy's descent thereon; for the tradition concerning the burning of David Hays's house at Bedford in 1779 connects the absence of one of its protectors, the eldest son Jacob (afterwards High Constable of the city of New York), with a successful attempt to drive cattle through the enemy's lines to the army of the United States. Concerning this same burning of the village of Bedford, I am fortunately able to correct one of the statements in Bolton's History of Westchester County. It is there stated† that on July 2d, 1779, Lieut.-Colonel Tarleton with a party of British light horse rode into Bedford and fired it; although according to the testimony of Mrs. Patty Holmes, given when ninety years old,‡ it would appear that on that day the British burned only the meeting-house and the residence of Colonel Holmes, then occupied by Benjamin Hays,§ setting fire to the village nine days later.

* According to a letter written in 1782 he was again at Northcastle in that year.

† Robt. Bolton, *The history of the several towns, manors and patents of the county of West Chester, etc.* Edited by C. W. Bolton, New Rochelle, N. Y., 1881, p. 91 *seq.*

‡ *Ibid.*, p. 94.

§ A brother of Michael and David was named Benjamin and is possibly the person referred to.

Among the papers of D. P. Hays is a mutilated memorandum in the handwriting of David Hays, of which nearly all of the superscription is illegible except the words "when the enemy came to Bedford and burned my house on the eleventh of July, 1779."

This, it would seem, fully corroborates Mrs. Holmes's statement that nine days elapsed between the seizure of the village, marked by firing its meeting-house (public property) and the house of Colonel Holmes (a Tory commander expelled by his fellow-citizens) as acts of terrorization, and the burning of the other houses.

Concerning the purpose of the raid, and of the delay of nine days in firing the village, nothing is said either in Bolton's narrative or in his citation from Mrs. Patty Holmes. Traditions of the Hays family supplement the published account as follows :

David Hays and most of the other heads of families were absent with the patriotic army. Jacob Hays was one of a party of young men and boys that had undertaken to get through the enemy's lines and into the American camp the cattle that had been collected for this purpose at Bedford. The British raid may well have been for the purpose of preventing this, and the delay of nine days in firing the village may have been granted in hope of discovering by treachery or otherwise the whereabouts of the herd and effecting its capture. Be this as it may, Mrs. Hays was at the time of the British raid lying upon a sick bed with a new-born infant* at her breast. Her husband and eldest son were with the army, and she with her daughters and her baby boy were attended by an old negro slave named Darby and his wife, whom she had brought with her from Baltimore, her home

* Benjamin Etting Hays, who at the time of his death at Pleasantville, Aug. 13th, 1858, was supposed to be the "last Jewish farmer in the United States," and who during his life was known as "Uncle Ben the Jew, the best Christian in Westchester County." The old homestead and a portion of the farm is now in the possession of his grandson, D. P. Hays, Esq.

prior to her marriage. Not British soldiers, but Tory neighbors,* entered the house on that eleventh day of July, 1779, and demanded of the sick woman information she was supposed to possess concerning the patriotic plans. On her refusal to play traitor, the house was fired with a brand from its own hearthstone. The mother and children were conveyed by the faithful negroes to a shelter in the woods and there cared for until succor came to them and to the others who suffered from Tory malice.

Esther Etting, the cousin and wife of David Hays, was not the only one of Asher Etting's children that dared to suffer for the right. When the echoes from the guns of Lexington reached Baltimore, her brother Reuben, then clerk in a bank at that place, although but 19 years of age, immediately threw down his pen and hastened northward to join the patriots. He was taken prisoner at Charlestown, and when the British learned that he was not only a rebel but a Jew, they gave him for food only pork, which he refused to eat, subsisting, until exchanged, on such morsels of unforbidden food as he could obtain from his fellow-prisoners. Weakened by confinement and privation, he died of consumption soon after his release. Another brother, Benjamin Etting, was among the patriotic merchants† of New York city who were forced to flee before the British troops. Many prominent Jews came at that time to Philadelphia, but Etting was one of a number who took refuge in Norwalk, Connecticut, where he died May 24th, 1778, leaving Mrs. Hays the only surviving member of her family.‡

*This finds corroboration in Bolton's statement that the Tory Colonel Holmes was among the firing party.

† He was in partnership with his uncle, Isaac Adolphus, at whose house it is probable that David Hays and Esther Etting first met.

‡ Moses Etting, another brother, had died some time previously at Easton, Pa., where he resided with I. Moses, and was engaged in merchandising in partnership with Nathan Bush, as appears from a letter written by Solomon Simson from Norwalk, June 4, 1778, to Mr. Bush, "in care of Mr. Myer Hart, merchant at Easton." In Mr. Moses's letter announcing Moses Etting's death, it is said that "in the morning he seemed cheerful and said his prayers as usual."

Michael Hays appears to have been a man of some consequence in his community. Tradition relates that he was concerned in the drafting of the constitution of the state of New York, and my brother, Dr. J. Solis-Cohen, remembers to have seen documentary evidence that supports the tradition; none of this evidence remains, however, unless we admit as such a mouse-eaten fragment among the papers of D. P. Hays which contains some undecipherable allusions to restrictions that ought to be placed upon the "powers of the general government." That he was active in public affairs, however, appears from a letter dated September 20, 1782, from a correspondent at New Haven whose signature Time's tooth aforesaid has neatly gnawed out. The writer complains that "the people here are more speculators than politicians—they are bound to pursue commerce, let the world wag as it will." The following letters bearing upon Michael Hays' political activity are, perhaps, not unworthy of transcription as illustrative both of differences and resemblances between the conduct of public affairs in the last century and at the present day :

"To Mr. Michael Hays
West Chester County.

City of New York 28th of Apl 1786

Sir

At a Meeting at the House of Mr. Isaac Nortons Last Evening by a Number of Gentlemen Belonging in Suffolk County and this City, and will in Case that the Inhabitants of Westchester County, will hold up for Senators the following Gentlemen, viz. Mr. Isaac Norton for the City and Mr. Henry Scudder for Long Island they will Hold up Ebenezer Lockwood Esquire for Westchester County. therefore I think that it Be Comes us to agree with the Inhabitants of those Countys for holdg up the Persons which they have Nominated—for the Island and the City—Westchester County Agreeing to those Gentlemen it may perhaps prevent

the Lawyers haveing their wishes served, therefore if those Nominations shold agree with your opinion you are requested to try to promote the same by handing those Tickets about amongst the People in your Quarter.

I am Sir Your Humbl

Servt. T. BENEDICT.

Mr. Michl Hays."

"To Mr. Michael Hays
Living in the town of
Mountpleasant Near
Manny hagen in the
County of West Chester
in the State of
New York.

Sir I whould acquaint you that you are Elected as an Assessor for the town of Mountpleasant and I whould inform you that I have the Oath for you ready and as the Justice will be at the house of Ebenezer Scolfield on Monday next in order to Quallify the town Officers Any Neglect to Comply will by the Law be Looked upon as a Refusall and Subject to a fine of twenty five pounds, it must be Complied within Eight Days after the Election this from

Sir your humbl Srvt

DANIEL MILLER, Town Clerk.

To Mr.

Michael Hays

April the 2-1788."

As indicated by the superscription of the above letter, Michael Hays was then residing at Mount Pleasant, where he had purchased a farm and manor in 1785, and where he died in 1799. His will, probated May 22 of the latter year, leaves all his property, real and personal, to his "beloved brother David."

Between Michael Hays and his brother David there existed a profound love, evidenced not only by the terms of

Michael's will, but by many letters not of public interest. Two letters, however, may be quoted, as illustrative of the firm affection with which the scattered families of Jews in the early days of our country clung to the observances of their religion; and it will be remembered that these were men and women all of whom proved not by mere words, but when occasion demanded by brave deeds,* their intense love for country—men and women, who above all others are entitled to be termed American Jews.

“To Mr. Michael Hays
Merchant
In North Castle

Bedford Septemb' 22 . 1784.

Dear Brother

I send you by Jacob $\frac{1}{2}$ mutton kil'd yesterday, also your Deed; & wish you a good fast Shabos;† also Monday is yorsite‡ for Mother 'w'§ Esther & Family Desire to be remembered to you & wishes you would Come & Keep Yomtob|| with us. Next thursday 31st of Septembr & friday y^e 1st of October is the two first Days of Sucoth;¶ wednesday Oshinarabah** the 6 & thursday & friday the

*Of the descendants of David Hays and Esther Etting three grandsons named Hays (Michael, Jacob, and Benjamin Franklin) and two great-grandsons (Jacob and Leon Solis-Cohen) served in the Union army and navy in 1861-65.

† Sabbath: on which appears to have fallen the great fast of Atonement Day.

‡ German, *Jahrzeit*, anniversary (of a death). There exist two letters of the year preceding, one from Hetty Hays at New York to Michael Hays at Northcastle, telling Michael to “send her no more things, as she had no place to put what he had already sent her,” and another from Abigail Hays at New York to her mother, informing her that the writer expected “to move next May day”; this is evidently the first anniversary of Hetty Hays's death.

§ Hebrew initials signifying 'Alah Shalom, “Peace be upon her.”

|| Holidays.

¶ Tabernacles.

** Seventh day of tabernacles.

7 & 8th of October is the 2 last Days. I write this for fear you wont Come ; but it will Please us all very much to have you here then. In haste as Jacob is waiting—

from your aff

Brother David Hays.

Bad Ink & Pen.”

“To Michael Hays
In North Castle

Bedford february 20th. 1785.”

Dear Brother,

I hope this may find you well as we are at Present. I just let you know that thursday y^e. 24 is Purim and we shall Be glad to see you here ; also that Saturday March the 26th is Pisack* and would also be glad of your Good Company then. We all joyn In love to you from your afft. Brother—

David Hays.”

As Michael Hays went on in years† he seems to have desired to have David and his family nearer than Bedford ; and hence in a deed bearing date 1796, and in which both brothers are described as “yeomen,” we find him conveying to David for a nominal consideration a portion of his property at Mt. Pleasant.

There may be not inappropriately exhibited to the Society an interesting memento of the patriotism and the religion of David Hays. It is a prayer-book, now belonging to my sister, Miss Charity Solis-Cohen ; the fly-leaf being inscribed : “This book I give to my daughter, Charity Hays, October ye 7th, 1801, David Hays.”

The book exhibited is one of a series of the edition published with English translation and Hebrew text according

* Passover.

† He describes himself as “being now an old man” in a memorandum dated 1797, and referring to a business transaction “interrupted by the war,” concerning which he records the facts in case he should die leaving it still unsettled.

to the ritual of the Spanish and Portuguese Jews, by A. Alexander, London, 5531 to 5534 (1770 to 1773).

In the book, the prayer for the Government, as printed, contains the names of "*Our Most Sovereign Lord King George the Third, Our Most Gracious Queen Charlotte, the Royal Highness George, Prince of Wales and all the Royal Family*," through which, the sturdy rebel whose book it was, has drawn his pen; as likewise through the words "*preserve*" in the phrase "*preserve them and grant them life*" and "*reign*" in the phrase "*long and prosperously to reign*," and through the whole phrase "*aggrandize and highly exalt our Sovereign Lord the King*."*

The ardent rebels, husband and wife, in whose family services this book was used, were not praying for George III. Truth to tell they had little cause for attachment to Great Britain; their ancestors having come to the New Netherlands from Holland, in the latter part of the 17th century, before the English conquest; according to a tradition preserved by the late Wm. Henry Hays, of New York, who derived it from his father, Jacob Hays, the High Constable, they came in their own ship, with their own servants, cattle, seeds, and the tools of agriculture. Their first settlement was near New Rochelle, where David Hays was born, in March, 1732. He died at Mount Pleasant, October 17, 1812,† having survived his noble wife nearly twenty years.

An unverified tradition gives to him a sword now belong-

* As no substitution of names or titles has been made, it would seem proper to conclude that these erasures antedated the formation of a Federal Government, and are erasures simply, not corrections.

† From his will we learn that his sons were Jacob, Moses, and Benjamin Etting; his daughters, Hannah (deceased), and Rachel, both in turn wives of Benjamin Myers; Hetty, wife of Isaacs (deceased); Charity, wife of Jacob da Silva Solis; and Abigail, whose portion is made contingent upon her "marrying in our Society." Notwithstanding this prohibition, Abigail married, after her father's death, a Mr. Conkling, brother of Governor Conkling of New York.

ing to Miss Elvira Nathan Solis,* which bears a Spanish legend that may be rendered :

“ Draw me not without reason—
Sheathe me not without honor.”

* Daughter of David Hays Solis and Elvira Nathan, his wife ; David Hays Solis being the son of Jacob da Silva Solis and Charity Hays, his wife.

THE COLONIZATION OF AMERICA BY THE JEWS.

BY DR. M. KAYSERLING, *Buda-Pest, Austria.*

The sources on the earliest settlement of the Jews in America are rather scant. Like the discovery of the New World and its colonization, the earliest settlement of the Jews in the newly discovered countries is, as might be expected, closely connected with Spain. Where the history of the Jews in Spain ends, that of the Jews in America begins; the Inquisition is the last chapter of the confessors of Judaism on the Pyrenean peninsula, and its first chapter on the continent of the western hemisphere.

The number of the Marranos, the children and grandchildren of those Jews who were burnt and condemned by the Spanish Inquisition, that settled in New Española and on the American continent shortly after the discovery, was so large that Queen Johanna considered it necessary, in 1511, to take measures against them. But this also clearly shows that the Marranos or Nuevos Christianos concealed their faith, or were able to conceal it, as little in the New World as in the mother-country.

The Marranos, New Christians, or Secret Jews were by no means so alien to Judaism as is generally assumed. A nation does not change its religion, its hereditary faith, like a garment. With astonishing tenacity, nay, with admirable obstinacy, the Marranos for centuries firmly clung to the faith of their fathers; it was not a rare occurrence that the grandchildren and great-grandchildren of the martyred Jews sanctified the Sabbath in a most conscientious manner by refraining from work as far as possible, and by wearing better clothing; they also celebrated the Jewish festivals, observed the Quippur,

as the Day of Atonement is called in the acts of the Inquisition, by fasting, married according to Jewish custom, etc. If one considers how many Marranos suffered for Judaism, even as late as in the 18th century, how many as martyrs of their faith went to the stake or ended their lives in the prisons of the Holy Office, how the inhabitants of the New World not only in Goa, Lima, and other places, but, transported in groups to Spain and Portugal, suffered everything for their attachment to Judaism in Seville, Toledo, Evora, Lisbon, he will be glad to identify himself with the Jews. Their religious heroism will be apparent in all its magnitude when the immense documentary material which is heaped up in the state archives of Alcalá de Henares, Seville, Simancas, Evora, Lisbon and other cities shall have been sifted and worked up.

As in New Española, so also in Portuguese India and Brazil, secret Jews settled in considerable numbers before the middle of the 16th century ; they were scattered along the whole coast and carried on an extensive trade in precious stones with Venice, Turkey and other countries where co-patriots and co-religionists were living. They, too, threw off the mask of disguise and professed Judaism as soon as they believed themselves in security. No wonder therefore that, like in the mother-country, Lisbon, Evora and Coimbra, so also at Goa, the metropolis of Portuguese dominion in India, the Inquisition was established with jurisdiction over all the Portuguese possessions in Asia and Africa as far as the Cape of Good Hope.

In order to prevent the emigration of the Marranos to India or Brazil, the Cardinal-Infant D. Enrique, as Regent of Portugal, issued an edict on the 30th of June, 1567. This was repeatedly renewed, and recalled only when the Jews, and Marranos, who were already residing there, offered to pay to the state the immense sum of 1,700,000 cruzados. Only then was residence and free commerce granted them by the law of the 21st of May, 1577. It was forbidden under

penalty to call them any longer Jews, Marranos or New Christians.*

At the outbreak of hostilities with Holland, which granted full religious liberty to the Jews, the Marranos made common cause with the Hollanders, equipped ships for them, and sent considerable sums of money to Spanish-Portuguese Jews in Hamburg and Aleppo, who forwarded them to Holland and Zealand.†

Also in the old empire of the Inkas, in Peru and in Lima, secret Jews, mostly Portuguese refugees, settled early. They soon became so numerous there that Philip II., who was cruel even against his own son, took the most rigorous measures against them and introduced the Holy Office. The first who fell as a victim of the Inquisition was a physician named Juan Alvarez; he himself, his wife and children, lived according to the law of Moses (*à la Ley de Moyses*). In 1582 Moses Lopez, who was also called Luis Coronado, of Yelves in Portugal, went to the stake; he confessed to have observed the Jewish law in his house with many other persons of his race. The merchant Duarte Nuñez, who emigrated from Lisbon, experienced the same fate; he confessed to have lived as a Jew and desired to depart from life as such. A few years later he was followed by the physician Alvaro Nuñez of Braganza, who lived in La Plata, by Diego Rodriguez de Silvera, who settled in Guamanga, and many others.‡

A new phase of the colonization of America by the Jews began with the conquest of Brazil by the Hollanders. In 1642 Spanish-Portuguese Jews set out, under the leadership of two rabbis, Isaac Aboab and Moses Raphael de Aguilar, from Amsterdam to Brazil, and took up their homes at Bahia and other cities. From there they settled in Paramaribo, Curaçoa, Cayenne, etc. When, in 1654, the

* Documentos remittidos da India, III., 459, 510 f.; Porto Seguro Historia geral do Brasil (Rio de Janeiro), p. 412.

† Documentos, etc., I., 106.

‡ J. T. Medina, Historia del Tribunal del S. Oficio de la Inquisicion de Lima (1569-1820).

Hollanders lost Brazil and the Jews were deprived of the liberty which they had enjoyed, many returned to Amsterdam, the remainder taking up their domiciles in Surinam. The Jews who, according to the list published by Dr. Cyrus Adler in the "Publications of the American Historical Society,"* lived in 1650 in Barbadoes, came, with a few exceptions, directly or indirectly from Amsterdam; several of those mentioned, as Isaac Pereira, Isaac Meza, Jacob Nuñez, were living several years before in Surinam. Also Benjamin Bueno de Mesquita, buried in New York on the 25th of October or 4th of Cheshvan, 1683, whose tombstone is described by Mr. N. Taylor Phillips,† was a member of a well-known Spanish-Portuguese Jewish family of Amsterdam.

As late as the eighteenth century, those persecuted by the Spanish and Portuguese Inquisition sought refuge in America; the advocate, Manuel Seixas, of Alcacere, whose son Vicente was condemned on the 10th of May, 1682, at Lisbon, as an adherent of Judaism, was certainly a relative of the Seixas whom we find a hundred years later as Hazan (Reader) in New York and Philadelphia.

* Publications I., 105 ff. Paul Denerde and David Ralph Deme-
reado were hardly Jews. For Rodrigus (p. 106) read Rodriques;
for Decompas, de Campos; for Abof, Aboaf; for Hamias, Namias;
for Cordoza, Cardozo; for Fonceco, Fonseca, and for Dechavis, de
Chaves.

† Publications No. I., p. 91.

PHASES OF JEWISH LIFE IN NEW YORK BEFORE 1800.

BY MAX J. KOHLER, *New York.*

It is the object of the present paper to present certain phases of Jewish social life in New York before 1800, the subject being viewed chiefly in its commercial, communal and social aspects.

I.

It has been the generally accepted view that the first settlement of Jews in New York was made by a party coming from Brazil, which arrived here in the autumn of 1654 in the bark *St. Catarina*. Recent investigations have convinced me, however, that this party was antedated by a few months by Jacob Aboaf and Jacob Barsimson, Jews, who arrived here on the 8th of July, 1654, in the ship "*Pear Tree*." This information has been gleaned from a very carefully prepared list of early immigrants to New Netherland.* The fact in itself would be of no importance were it not that their arrival does not appear to have awakened objections. Only when a much larger party arrived from Brazil, rendering it likely that there would be many more to follow in consequence of the Dutch abandonment of that country, was any opposition aroused. Even then their arrival was at once announced by the institution of legal proceedings for their passage money, which could not but awaken distrust of and suspicion against

* Printed in the *New York Genealogical and Biographical Record*, Vol. XIV., p. 181. On Dec. 17, 1654, this ship was chartered by Gov. Stuyvesant for a voyage to the West Indies and back (*Dutch MSS.*, p. 58). This makes it probable that it was in the same service earlier in that year, and hence that the two Jews in question were brought by it from the West Indies.

them ; so it is obvious that the Dutch should not be credited with as much intolerance and lack of hospitality as has been customary. This is especially true inasmuch as it appears that the intolerant spirit manifested towards them was largely if not chiefly created by that crotchety, narrow-minded, yet quaint old man, Peter Stuyvesant, whose wishes in this matter met with disapproval abroad from his superiors, and apparently with but little encouragement in the colony itself. Of course, orders in their favor were given rather half-heartedly and only grudgingly, but the important fact in the matter is that they were in their favor at a time when practically every other nation withheld them. In the commercial history of the Jews of New York, it is strange to note the important effects of their exclusion from retail trade, both under the Dutch and under the English for some time. It is difficult to explain the underlying object of this restriction ; probably it was designed to prevent any growth in the intercourse and dealings of Jews with Christians, on the same principle that the Ghetto was established.* Be that as it may, the attention of the Jews was thereby directed to a field in which by nature and relations they were far better fitted to labor, and so the Jew became already at this early day an importer. The expulsion of the Marranos from Brazil and other similar causes induced many Jews to sail northward. As a result, Jewish settlements were made in different places in the West Indies and thereabouts, and naturally these settlers were eager to remain in communication with their co-religionists, friends and relatives. As a result many New York Jews at once began to trade with Jews who had settled at these other points, and while the places were much nearer together than they and the mother-country, they were sufficiently distant to render their respective produce different, hence trade at once began to flourish. It is difficult to estimate exactly how great the volume of this trade was. In an interesting and valuable article on "Commerce in the Colonies," by Edward

* See Daly's Settlement of the Jews, p. 13, note ; also pp. 24-5.

Eggleston, that writer remarks of New York's trade: "The adventurous Dutch, who were its leading merchants, sent ships on longer voyages than those made from other ports. Yet there are many single firms in the metropolis to-day whose business exceeds that of the whole city before 1776, with all its sending of breadstuffs, flax-seed, onions, staves, horses, and even pickled oysters and lobsters, to exchange for cotton at Surinam and St. Thomas, lime-juice and dye-wood in Curaçoa, logwood in the dangerous bay of Honduras, and the ill-gotten booty of pirates in Madagascar," and last, but by no means least, one should add Spanish dollars. "All this trade was necessary to find means to balance its half million pounds of purchases in England, and to pay for the 'osnaburgs' and checked linens that were smuggled from Holland, in the teeth of prohibitory laws." To the same effect are various official communications of those days, in which Curaçoa, Surinam, St. Thomas, Barbadoes, Madeira and Jamaica are referred to as the principal trading ports for New York outside of England.*

As Eggleston remarks, the balance of trade with Europe was heavily against us each year, and the English merchants declined to accept our colonial currency, and as a result each year a heavy balance in coin had to be paid. Where did this money come from? Not from the colonists themselves, who never had much to spare at any time. It was the rich produce of the West Indian trade, for the most part, and as we shall presently see, those immediately engaged in the trade reaped a golden harvest.

It should furthermore be noticed that the principal ports mentioned were the very places where Jewish settlements had been formed at an early day, and hence Jewish traders in New York had a marked advantage over others in this West Indian trade. In order properly to understand our own history, it is necessary to follow up the fortunes of the

* See Valentine's Manual, 1852, pp. 441, 442-4, Reports of Lord Cornbury and Lieutenant-Governor Colden.

co-religionists, relatives and friends of the early New York Jews who had settled in these places. Some interesting data were offered at the last meeting of this Society in this connection by Dr. Adler; other data are promised by the announcements for this meeting. In an appendix to this article I have collected a few incidents of this kind which have hitherto escaped attention, tending to bear out my statements.

We are not confined, however, to this purely inferential evidence to establish the fact that this kind of trade was chiefly in the hands of the Jews, for scanty as our data are in the matter of our commercial history, there is ample direct evidence to establish my contention.

Among the papers contained in the Brodhead Collection of Colonial Manuscripts in Albany are the following, indexed and very briefly summarized by O'Callaghan in his "Calendar of Historical Manuscripts":

Bill of lading shipped from Curaçoa to New Netherland, 1658. Invoice of jewelry and other articles sent to Joshua Mordekay En Riques, 1 Dec., 1656 (Spanish).

Also, on Dec. 23, 1655, Jacob Cohen Henriques and Salvator D'Andrada furnished a bond to pay duties on certain tobacco which they had imported, but which had been seized. The bond was conditioned on payment if the tobacco were condemned. (I., pp. 60, 156, 157.)

On April 18, 1696, Saul Brown and ——— Morine, with Robert Livingston, Matthew Clarkson, Jacobus Cortland, David Robbles, Henry van Rensselaer and others filed a petition with respect to the brigantine *Orange*. In a preceding petition, dated Dec. 30, 1695, they are described as freighters on board the brigantine. (II., p. 251.)

March 19, 1685, bill of lading for goods shipped by Thomas Wenham, Joseph Bueno & Co., on board of the *Susanna* of London, Thomas Hill master, for Surinam. (II., 115.)

This same Joseph Bueno, whom we know to have been a Jew, received a license to trade and traffic here, together with Asher Michells de Paul and Abraham Desosamendes, on Feb. 8, 1683. (II., 154.)

On May 15, 1694, he and Ann Cuyler describe themselves as two-thirds owners of the brigantine Rebecca, chased into port by a French privateer, the captain of the brigantine petitioning for the release of his goods from the custom-house so that he may complete his voyage to St. Thomas as he first intended. The owners join in the petition. (II., 240.)

The Gomez family appears to have been heavily engaged in foreign trade, to judge from references to its members and enterprises they were engaged in, individually and associated with others, Jews and Christians. On June 1st and 8th, 1710, Luis Gomez & Son petitioned for leave to export wheat, on the former date, in conjunction with Abraham De Lucena (II., 371.) The following year he asks to be relieved from the payment of duties on some wines. (II., 379.)

On Aug. 3, 1722, Luis and Mordecai Gomez and Lieut. Edward Smith ask for the appointment of an umpire in relation to some subject-matter not specified in this Calendar (II., 471.) The following December these two Gomezes petition relative to the merchandise and negroes imported in the ship Greyhound (II., 475), and the following day we learn that a Mr. Joseph Walton delivered a letter to Mr. Gomez as agent of the several owners of the cargo saved by H. M. ship Greyhound.

On July 21, 1720, Mordecai Gomez and Rodrigo Pacheco, with others, petition in behalf of various persons residing in Curaçoa, including Daniel Moreno Henriques, that the bond of Capt. John Hickford, of the privateer Hunter, may be prosecuted for illegally capturing their sloops, the Young Catherine and Young Adrian. There is a similar petition from Rodrigues Pacheco and Abraham Wendell on behalf of the owners of the sloops Sea Flower, Phoenix and Fortune. Subsequently an appraisal was ordered of the

value of the sloop Hunter, so the petition seems to have been granted (II., 452). Leave appears also to have been granted to the parties to dispose of the cargoes of the illegally captured vessels.

The following advertisements from the N. Y. *Gazette* are also interesting in this connection: June 24, 1751: "Just imported from Liverpool & to be sold on board the Snow Nancy, William Beekman Master, Several White Servants; also sundry sorts of Earthen Ware in Casks & Crates, Cheshire Cheese, Loaf Sugar, Cutlery Ware, Pewter, Grindstones, Coals & Sundry other Goods too tedious to mention, by Abraham Van Horne, Daniel & Isaac Gomez or said Master. (Valentine's Manual for 1866, p. 680.)

Also, May 4, 1752: "To be sold by Abraham Pereira Mendes, a Parcel of Likely young Negroes, Piemento, Old Copper, Coffee, etc. at the House in Smith's Fly, lately in the occupation of Roger Pell, Innkeeper. N. B. If any Person has a Mind to purchase any of the Goods mentioned, they may enquire of Mr. Daniel Gomez." (*Ibid.*, p. 710.)

A similar advertisement was inserted by Naphtali H. Myers, on Jan. 8, 1750, of a large Assortment of European and East India Goods, very Cheap for Ready Money or Short Credit (*Ibid.*, p. 618).

On Aug. 21, 1756, Isaac and Benjamin Gomez and others, owners of the sloop Success and others, petitioned for leave to load their several vessels, bound to Madeira, with provisions. (Calendar of MSS., II., 658.)

In 1703 Jacob Isaac petitions for remission of duties on goods imported (II., 305), and in Oct., 1760, Judah Hays of N. Y., merchant, owner of the ship Duke of Cumberland, requests a commission for Thomas Cruger as master of the ship (II., 715).

In 1711 Abraham de Lucena and Elizabeth de Forest presented an account for provisions for the expedition against Canada (II., p. 391).

Some years before, June 27, 1693, Moses Levi and others filed accounts for presents to the Indians (II., 262).

In 1713 Abraham de Lucena and Justus Bosch, owners of the sloop *Mary & Abigail*, asked for leave to proceed on their voyage for Jamaica, with provisions (II., 414), and three years later Abraham de Lucena petitioned for a reduction of the duty on some Madeira wine imported by him (II., 430).

Last but not least among these pre-Revolutionary importers and exporters to be mentioned is Sampson Simson, whose name appears frequently between 1757 and 1776 as the owner of vessels engaged in foreign trade, probably to the East and West Indies. He is referred to in 1757 as the owner of the schooner *Hardy*, also of the *Sampson*; of the snow *Union* and the brigantine *Polly*, some years later (II., 678, 682, 695, 703, 706). During the period named he appears to have been the largest trader among New York Jews. His business was carried on after his death by members of the family, and it was through this channel that correspondence between New York and Malabar Jews was conducted. Mr. Sampson Simson was one of the most prominent members of the New York Chamber of Commerce, and there are numerous references to him in John A. Stevens' "Colonial Records of the New York Chamber of Commerce." He was one of the drafters of its constitution, served repeatedly as a member of its arbitration committee for grievances of New York merchants, was on its Committee on the Regulation of Coinage, and also on its Fishery Committee. Perhaps nothing will serve better to illustrate his prominence in this field than the fact that at the last meeting of that historic body, its 125th anniversary was celebrated, and the menu card bore a frontispiece representing a meeting between Lieut.-Gov. Colden and a delegation from the Chamber, consisting of Isaac Low, William Walton, John Alsop, Charles McEvers, William McAdam, Sampson Simson, Thomas Buchanan and John Thurman, at whose instance the acting Governor granted a charter for the Chamber.

These items appear to me to be ample to establish my proposition. *In the foregoing, several references have been made to Jews who were engaged in slave-dealing. It should be borne in mind that, until about 1750 at any rate, every New York family of any wealth or comfort held slaves, and in keeping and even in dealing in them the Jews were neither better nor worse than the Christian inhabitants. In fact, it is quite amusing to turn to the earliest instance in New York in which the words Jews and slaves are used in the same sentence. It was in a remonstrance addressed by Stuyvesant, not against the slave-trade or slavery, but against the irksomeness of the idea that Christians and employees of the Company should not in every case have the preference in the matter of getting slaves arriving in New Amsterdam, over "Spaniards and unbelieving Jews." This was written in 1661.* In August, 1720, we read that "Simon the Jew [probably Simon Bonane or Bonave] don't expect his [slave] ship from Guinea before the fall." In the uneasiness attending the negro plot in this city in 1741 the Jews were not spared, and we hear that slaves belonging to the Gomez family, and also to Abraham Myers Cohen, were, or were accused of being, implicated in the threatened riot and insurrection.

The fact that New York Jews formed trading-posts in numerous points outside of the city was referred to in the text and notes to Judge Daly's work. In consequence, New York Jews carried on trade with settlers along Long Island, the South River, Esopus, Albany and Rhode Island. A good proof of the existence of communication with the last named place is afforded by legal proceedings instituted in 1764 against Asser Levy, while the city of New York was again in possession of the Dutch for a brief interval, and strict orders against intercourse with English towns or colonies were in force. It was established that defendant had received a letter from New England, and it was demanded that he be subjected to a penalty. He answered that he had not been

* O'Callaghan's Col. Tracts of New York, Vol. III.

at home when the letter was received, and that his wife had unwittingly accepted it but did not read it. The Governor-General (A. Colve) and Council having heard the defendant's excuse and read the letter, have left him off for this time, and dismiss plaintiff's complaint.* More direct evidence is afforded by a communication made by the Earl of Bellamont, Governor, in 1699, to the Legislative Council in regard to property seized by a pirate vessel. Among the victims was Isaac Cohen de Lara, a Jew, who had shipped certain goods from "Road Island" to this port.†

That Jews were engaged here at an early day in money-lending, not to call the business by the more dignified modern terms of brokerage or banking, is also well known.‡ Several references to this in connection with Joseph Bueno, a Jewish resident of this city near the close of the 17th and the beginning of the 18th century, are extant. About 1700 we read of the Governor, Lord Bellamont, making use of his services.§ In a letter from the Governor to the Board of Trade "he refers to the New York merchants making financial matters

* Doc. Relating to Col. History, II., 684.

† Journal of the Legislative Council, I., 127.

‡ It is of considerable interest in this connection to notice that Jews were among the founders of the New York Stock Exchange; their early relations to the Chamber of Commerce were referred to above. The New York Stock Exchange seems to have had its beginnings in the formation of an association of brokers in 1792, by their drawing up and signing articles, as follows: "We the Subscribers, Brokers for the purchase and sale of Public Stock, do hereby solemnly promise and pledge ourselves to each other, that we will not buy or sell from this day for any person whatsoever, any kind of Public Stock at a less rate than one quarter of one per cent commission on the specie value, and that we will give a preference to each other in our own negotiations."

This was signed by nineteen persons on May 17, 1792, including Benjamin Seixas and Ephraim Hart; two other persons signed the following November.—History of the New York Stock Exchange, etc., New York, p. 2.

§ Life and Administration of Richard, Earl of Bellamont, by Frederick de Peyster, Appendix, p. xiii.

very difficult for him," and he adds that "they will now advance no money at all on my bills; so that, were it not for one Dutch Merchant & two or three Jews that have let me have money, I should have been undone."* Doubtless Bueno was one of these.

A petition was signed by 66 of the most prominent merchants of New York on Feb. 19, 1705, in regard to a fair standard of values for foreign coins. Among the signers were Joseph Bueno, Abraham de Lucena and Samuel Levy. (IV., 1133-5.)

Of course the Jews did not limit themselves to foreign trade, even when they first settled here, and subsequently, though we do not know exactly when, the restriction in regard to retail trade was swept away. Meanwhile we hear of them as engaged in trade with the Indians, as buying and selling land, engaging in tavern-keeping, and also as butchers, as goldsmiths, auctioneers, distillers, and in many other lines of trade, industry and professional life. However, almost all those who acquired wealth or standing beyond the ordinary, appear to have been engaged in these early days in foreign trade.

Among incidents that might with equal propriety be classed among commercial affairs and instances of patriotism we may consider affairs with which Isaac Moses was associated. He was a resident of New York before the Revolution, but left the city for Philadelphia with many other patriots, including a large number of his co-religionists, when this city fell into the hands of the British. Immediately after the war he returned to this city, and in 1784 he was one of thirty New York merchants who addressed a memorial to the State Legislature in favor of taking steps to improve the public credit and securities. In the course of the letter the petitioners recite that they had furnished the agents of Congress at the outbreak of the Revolution with large sums of specie for the purpose of carrying on the

* Doc. Relating to Col. Hist., etc., IV., p. 720.

northern expedition and procuring supplies of arms and ammunition, taking in exchange therefor the said paper emissions, and thus those emissions obtained credit and currency.* While in Philadelphia he appears to have been associated with Joseph Reed, Robert Morris and other patriotic business men in launching the first bank in the United States. He gave his bond for £3000 to make up a total of £300,000 in order to support the credit of a bank to be established for furnishing a supply of provisions for the army of the United States.† Such are some of the incidents in the early commercial history of the Jews of New York.

II.

As for the communal life of the New York Jews, considerable data are collected in Daly's history. The Shearith Israel Congregation is generally regarded as the first one organized in this country, and probably it was. It is true that its minutes begin only in 1729 and refer to an earlier constitution adopted in 1703, yet it is highly probable that this congregation was identical with the one of which Saul Brown was minister in 1695. In fact, it is likely that the congregation was formed immediately after the arrival of Jews in this city, but that services were carried on so quietly as to be secret and unknown, in consequence of the orders issued by the Dutch West India Company against the establishment of a synagogue or public gathering, but authorizing religious services in private in the individual houses. When the present synagogue building was erected in Nineteenth Street, it appears that the 12th of September, 1860, was selected for the date of its consecration as the anniversary of the day of the first landing of Jews in New York. An amusing blunder was made by a writer in *Frank Leslie's Illustrated Weekly*, in the issue of September 29th following; the article makes the day the 260th anniversary instead of the 206th, by a

* Valentine's Manual, 1858, p. 639.

† Hazard's Register of Penn., II., 259.

slight typographical error. As New York was not settled till some years later than 1600, that date would have given us precedence here. In spite of that fact, however, the error was carried over to a book by a German traveler named Benjamin, entitled "*Reise nach Amerika*," published in 1860, and there it lies imbedded, to cause further mistakes more or less amusing. As appears from preceding remarks in this paper, September 12th, 1654, is not the date of the earliest arrival, for there was a migration three months earlier; evidently the celebration of "anniversaries" is sometimes attended with error. It is much to be desired that the minutes of the Nineteenth Street synagogue of this early date be printed in their entirety, both from their inherent value and because they would serve as valuable aids in identifying Jews in other old works and manuscripts. Slight attempts at this have already been made, one by a former minister, Dr. Fishell, whose articles are quoted in a note to Judge Daly's work.

Another much more valuable contribution was made in the shape of an article in German, printed in "*The Reformer and Jewish Times*," of August 22, 1879, the data having been furnished by the late Judge Joachimsen. This article has apparently wholly escaped attention; I shall employ its data freely in the following, making only occasional additions. While there are several obvious errors in the introductory part, the bulk of the article seems absolutely reliable and is based on transcripts from the congregation's minutes. I shall quote only the latter.

The total expenses of the congregation for the year 1729 aggregated £91, but grew larger with increases in membership. In 1746 there were 51 members and the expenses reached £268 6s.; next year £308. The Zedakah (charity) fund was under the sole administration of the Parnass (President), until he was forbidden in 1756 to expend more than £150 for salaries and £20 for charities without the consent of the Board of Trustees, and in 1770 he was required to furnish a bond of £500 as security. The congregation was under the

direction of a Board of Trustees, two acting Parnassim, three adjuncts and a Hazan (Reader). Originally every one obligated himself to contribute £2 per annum. As this did not suffice, an assessment based on individual fortunes was adopted, and at length the congregation's income was secured by the present method of rental of pews and voluntary contributions, as well as penalties of from £1 to £20 which were levied and collected, and in 5532 (1772) the Parnass was made personally responsible for a failure to exhaust all means of collecting them. The salaries were as follows: The Reader, acting also as teacher of Hebrew, received £20 to £80, until a special teacher was engaged in addition at a salary of £80; the Shamas (Sexton) received £40, and the Schochet and Bodek (slaughterer and inspector of cattle) £40 besides paraphernalia, free residence and wood.

Originally the school was open every afternoon, but in the year 1746 the school hours were fixed at 9-12 and 2-5. Every child was charged £8 quarterly, except poor children, who were taught gratis. The English language, reading and writing and the usual branches were taught. The Trustees agreed to visit the school weekly in rotation. This school deserves special attention, for it represents the only approximation to our present public school system, dating from the eighteenth century, known to me. It should be observed that the studies were comprehensive and the hours long, and, while tuition was not in general free, those unable to pay received the same instruction in the same classes as children of wealthier parents. While the Dutch paid considerable attention to education during their régime, the English were not so prudent and discreet, and the school system deteriorated, till our own century saw the charity school transformed into the present public school. So in this city, as everywhere else, education, even at this early day, was prized and fostered by the Jewish community.

But to return to Judge Joachimsen's article. The Schochet and Bodek was treated very rigorously. In one instance he

sold four trephe (ritually unclean) tongues, but it appeared that it was a mistake caused by the butcher arik. Nevertheless the Schochet was censured, and threatened with the loss of his position in the event of a recurrence of the mistake. In another instance the Schochet objected to being examined, but was suspended and then became obedient. It was the duty of the Shamas to summon the congregation to the synagogue, to make the wax candles, and to have the Mazzos (unleavened bread) baked in his house. All officers were supplied with Mazzos free of charge. The widows of deceased members received a stipend, generally of £40. The charities ran up to considerable amounts. The chief endeavor was to preserve the religion intact; for this purpose neither by-laws, reprimands nor penalties were spared. Thus in 5512 (1752) it was resolved that under a penalty of \$20 every person shall be called up to the Sepher (Law) and shall perform his religious duties. Whoever does not contribute will be expelled from the congregation. Erev Rosh Hashanah (day before New Year) 5518 (1758): the number of violations of certain religious laws, eating trephe, breach of the Sabbath laws, etc., has increased so much that it was determined that every culprit be expelled from the congregation, if he does not mend his ways after warning. Meanwhile threats and rigor seem to have availed but little, or a more liberal Hazan must have stood at the head of the Jewish community, for when in 5535 (1775) complaint was made against Betty Hays of having bought trephe meat, she was merely ordered to cleanse the spoons according to Jewish rites; and one born out of wedlock, who died the same year, received decent interment.

These last few statements about the growth of laxness in the matter of certain ceremonial laws are in accord with the evidence handed down to us by Prof. Kalm, from this same period, who remarks that the young Jews were particularly prone to fall from grace in these respects.* The evidence proves that the freedom enjoyed by the Jews living in the

* See Daly's work.

midst of a large Christian community is apt to beget indifference to the peculiarities of our ceremonial laws, and that wholly independently of the development of more liberal or reform views. Several cases are at hand of intermarriage of New York Jews and Jewesses with Christians, and occasional conversions to the prevailing religion. Perhaps the family that sinned most in this respect is the Franks family. This brings us to the third portion of this paper: New York Jews in their relations to their Christian neighbors and, roughly speaking, their life in other than its commercial and communal aspects.

III.

For the most part the Jews formed a separate class, and while they were not confined to any portion of the city, by predilection they resided in one quarter.* In their business relations the line of creed was quite soon overstepped, and in some cases Jews and Christians associated together. Thus the early spirit of intolerance which inspired the harsh and narrow order against the participation of Jews in the matter of standing guard in the Dutch period, and the substitution therefor of a special tax, gave way in time.† In 1738, for

* See the discourse of Wm. A. Duer, on Social Life in New York in 1783, quoted by Griswold: *The Republican Court*, p. 27.

† In this connection, the remarks of Thomas Wentworth Higginson at the recent Chicago Religious Parliament are of interest. He began his paper on "The Sympathy of Religions" as follows: "The first Parliament of Religions in this country may be said to have been simultaneous with the nation's birth. When in 1788 the Constitution of the United States was adopted, and a commemorative procession of 5000 people took place in Philadelphia, then the seat of government, a place in the triumphal march was assigned to the clergy; and the Jewish rabbi of the city walked between two Christian ministers, to show that the new republic was founded on religious toleration. It seems strange that no historical painter, up to this time, has selected for his theme that fine incident. It should have been perpetuated in art, like the Landing of the Pilgrims, or Washington crossing the Delaware." The rabbi referred to seems to have been Rev. Jacob Cohen. (See *Morais: Mickve Israel Con-*

instance, we find a number of Jews enrolled in the militia companies of the city; their number includes Joseph Hays, Baran Juda, Samuel Levy, Jacob, Moses and David Franks, Samuel Myers Cohen, Abraham Isaacs, Solomon Myers and Joseph Simson.*

In 1742, Oliver Delancey, brother of Chief Justice, and subsequently Lieut.-Gov. Delancey, was married to Miss Franks, of Philadelphia, whose father appears to have migrated there since last we referred to him, in 1738. Mr. Delancey was a member of one of the most influential families of the city on his father's side, and his mother had been a Van Cortland.† Some years later we find Miss Rebecca Franks visiting New York with her father, just before the evacuation of the city, and it is to her sharp pen that we owe one of the most detailed and piquant accounts of society life in the city. It seems that already in her day Philadelphians were shocked by New York's frivolousness and audacity.‡ But this train of thought is susceptible of indefinite expansion; the ladies of the Franks family themselves meriting the devotion of a whole article to them, and an interesting one it ought to be at that. I will therefore close the present article with a very interesting incident, the scene of which was probably Philadelphia, but New York has at least a prior claim on the Franks family, and several of the participants in the incident were of national and not local fame. The story is related in Trumbull's biography. Trumbull the artist was invited to dine at Mr. Jefferson's house one day in 1793. Among others present there was Mr. Giles, a Senator from Virginia. To quote Trumbull: "I was scarcely seated when he (Giles)

gregation, *Am. Jew. Hist. Soc. Pub.*, I., p. 19.) Precisely the same remarks are applicable to the celebration of the inaugural exercises of Washington's administration, in New York, on April 30, 1789, in which Rev. Gershom Mendes Seixas was one of fourteen ministers participating. (See Griswold: *The Republican Court*, p. 138.)

* *Doc. History of New York*, IV., 211-22.

† *Valentine's Manual*, 1864, p. 575.

‡ See Griswold, *The American Court*.

began to rally me on the puritanical ancestry and character of New England. I saw there was no other person from New England present, and therefore, although conscious that I was in no degree qualified to manage a religious discussion, I felt myself bound to defend my country on this delicate point as well as I could. Whether it had been pre-arranged that a debate on the Christian religion, in which it should be powerfully ridiculed on the one side and weakly defended on the other, was to be brought forward as promising amusement to a rather free-thinking dinner party, I will not presume to say, but it had that appearance, and Mr. Giles pushed his raillery, to my no small annoyance, if not to my discomfiture, until dinner was announced. That I hoped would relieve me by giving a new turn to the conversation, but the company was hardly seated at table when he renewed the assault with increased asperity, and proceeded so far at last as to ridicule the character, conduct and doctrines of the divine Founder of our religion; Mr. Jefferson in the meantime smiling and nodding approval on Mr. Giles, while the rest of the company silently left me and my defense to our fate, until at length my friend David Franks took up the argument on my side. Thinking this a fair opportunity for avoiding further conversation on the subject, I turned to Mr. Jefferson and said, Sir, this is a strange situation in which I find myself; in a country professing Christianity and at a table with Christians, as I supposed, I find my religion and myself attacked with severe and almost irresistible wit and raillery, and not a person to aid in my defense but my friend Mr. Franks, who is himself a Jew." So runs this well-authenticated story, and it shows the American Jew in a favorable light, even at the dinner-table of the Secretary of State of the United States, the future President.

APPENDIX I.

JEWS IN WEST INDIAN AND NEIGHBORING PORTS.

The earliest reference to Jews in the West Indies that I have been able to find, except Dr. Kayserling's discovery of Luis de Torres' settlement in Havanna, is the following, gleaned from Th. Southey's *History of the West Indies*, Vol. I., p. 103: "In 1506 the King ordered the cathedrals to be built at his expense (at Española). The bishops were to punish such clergymen as set a bad example, to proceed against all Jews, Moors, and heretics, and not to quit their bishoprics and return to Castile without the King's permission." As orders had been issued some years before directing the expulsion of the Jews from all Spain's colonial possessions, I take it that the issuance of orders in this form was directed against Jews who had been permitted to settle there in spite of the earlier prohibition. But already before this, in 1502, when the place was being colonized, King Ferdinand contracted with one Luis de Arriaga to send no person banished from Spain there, neither any who had been Jews or Moors. (*Ibid.*, p. 77.) This would suggest that such things had been done in other instances.*

Dr. Fishell (see Appendix II.) is my next informant: In 1548 Portuguese Jews transplant the sugar cane from the island of Madeira to Brazil.†

1624. All the American Israelites unite and organize a colony in Brazil. Six hundred of the leading Jews of Holland join them.

1650. They establish branch colonies in Cayenne and Curaçoa.

*Compare with this the account of Jewish children transported to St. Thomas in 1493. Graetz, *Gesch.*, VIII., 384-5. Knox, *Historical Account of St. Thomas*, 162-3.

†Compare with this, Kidder and Fletcher, *Brazil and the Brazilians*, p. 591: "1548. Numbers of Jews having been stripped by the Inquisition of Portugal, were banished to Brazil."

1664. The colony at Cayenne dissolved. They remove to Surinam, Jamaica and Barbadoes.

The Brazilian Jews who formed these settlements are thus described by Nieuhoff in his "Voyages and Travels in Brazil, 1640-1649":* "Among the free inhabitants of Brazil that were not in the [Dutch West India] Company's service the Jews were the most considerable in number, who had transplanted themselves thither from Holland. They had a vast traffic beyond all the rest; they purchased sugar-mills and built stately houses in the Receif. They were all traders, which would have been of great consequence to the Dutch Brazil had they kept themselves within the due bounds of traffic."

So also in the "Voyage of Francis Pyrard"† we read, on the author's return voyage from Bahia to Portugal in 1611, of the presence of a Jew merchant, or as the Portuguese would call him, *Christiano nuevo*, aboard. "The Jew had more than 100,000 crowns worth of merchandise, most of it his own; the rest put in his care by the principal merchant and others. There was also another Jew on board as rich as he, and four or five other Jewish merchants. The profits they make after being nine or ten years in those lands are marvellous, for they all come back rich; many of these new Christians, Jews by race, but baptized, being worth 60, 80, or even 100 thousand crowns, yet they are slightly esteemed withal."

Curaçoa was settled by this same Dutch West India Company, and Jews from Holland and from Brazil went there at an early date.‡ Already in 1652 a grant was made by the Company to Joseph de Fonseca, alias David Nassi, and others, for establishing a Jewish colony there, and Jan de Yllan, a Jew, came over as patroon. Only ten or twelve Jews appear, however, to have gone there within the next

* See Pinkerton's *Voyages*, Vol. XIV., p. 871.

† Hakluyt Society Publications, Vol. 80, p. 332.

‡ See Daly, pp. 9, 10 and 11.

two years. In 1654 regular communications were established between Curaçoa and New Netherlands, and soon after, it seems, between Curaçoa and Barbadoes. In 1656 we learn of a cargo imported into Curaçoa from Barbadoes by Isaac de Fonseca, a Jew.

But to return to Southey (I., 335): "The Portuguese (1654) having made themselves masters of Pernambuco, obliged the Dutch to quit Brazil. The fugitives sought shelter in the West Indies: when they arrived at Martinico, the leading men waited upon M. du Parquet and begged permission to inhabit the island upon the same terms as the French inhabitants. Du Parquet would have granted their request, but the Jesuits remonstrated against it, declaring it was contrary to the king's instructions that heretics should be allowed in the islands to introduce heresy and Judaism; their advice prevailed, and the unfortunate Dutchmen were obliged to seek shelter elsewhere. They proceeded to Guadeloupe and were civilly received by M. Houel, the governor; upwards of 900 persons of all ages landed—soldiers, merchants, women, children and slaves, bringing with them immense riches. When Du Parquet heard what he had lost, he upbraided the Jesuits as the cause. The Superior of the Order, with more zeal than charity, went to Guadeloupe to try his influence with M. Houel to prevent his receiving the Dutch, but he returned to Martinico unsuccessful and mortified, and to his still greater mortification another vessel arrived with 300 persons, among whom were eight or nine Jews."

Some data about the Jews of Surinam are contained in Van Rees: *Geschiedenis der Koloniale Politiek van de Republiek der Vereenigde Nederlanden*, especially in the note, pp. 365–6, where reference is made to a French work published at Paramaribo in 1788, on the history of the colony of Surinam and the Portuguese Jews settled there.*

As to the Jews in Barbadoes, information is at hand in an

* See Dr. Felsenthal's article in this volume, pp. 29–30.

article by J. N. Carvalho in Vol. II., p. 294, of "The Occident," and also in "The Jewish Calendar," by J. J. Lyons and Abraham La Sola, 1854. The first settlement by Jews appears to have been made in 1628. A Hebrew tombstone bearing the date 5418 (1658) has been found; also tombstones of d— Mercado, 1660, Levi Resio, 1661, and David Ralph Mercado, 1685. John Payer, in his History of Barbadoes, speaks of Jews in 1680 as of long and settled residence. In 1706 some of their disabilities were removed.*

Considerable new data are at hand on the early history of Jews in Jamaica, extracted from a work entitled "Monumental Inscriptions of the British West Indies," collected by Captain J. H. Lawrence Archer. At p. 265:

"Jamaica. Hunt's Bay, St. Andrew's Parish.
Jews' Burial Ground.

1. In memory of Mr. Jacob Hizriahu de Luzena, merchant, who departed this life January . . . 1686.

2. In memory of Doctor Jacob Rodriguez De Leon, who died on the 5th of June, 1703, being the sixtieth year of his age.

3. In memory of Jacob Brandao, who died on the 7th day of January, 1711, aged 46 years.

4. In memory of Mr. Isaac Narbeus, merchant, who departed this life on the 10th of March, 1686, that is the fifth of Nisan, 5447, from the creation of the world.

5. In memory of Ester Baruch Alvans, the wife of Mr. Abraham Alvans, who departed this life on the 30th of January, 1692.

N. B.—The Jewish burial ground is full of tombs, but with the above exceptions, the inscriptions are in the Hebrew characters."

In the introduction to this work (p. 4) we read: "The Spaniards were the first Europeans who possessed these islands. They failed to Christianize them, and destroyed

* See also Dr. Cyrus Adler's article in Vol. I. of this Society's publications, pp. 105-108.

the people. Scarcely more than 200 years back the English took Jamaica and drove out the Spaniards. Now, in addition to the Spaniards, there were Portuguese settlers here, but they were Jews and not Christians. When the Spanish Inquisition drove the Jews as well as the Moors out of Spain, the Jews found an asylum in Portugal. The family of Columbus, the discoverer of America, had received this island as a sovereign possession. His son Diego was created Marquis of St. Jago de la Vega. On the granddaughter of Columbus marrying into the house of Braganza (the family that now occupies the throne of Portugal), the Jews from Portugal came to Jamaica in numbers. Though the English drove the Spaniards from the colony on its capture, they suffered the *Portugals*, as they were called, to remain. These were the Jewish settlers, whose families are perpetuated to this day in their descendants—the Dasilvas and Soarezes, the Cordozas, the Belisarios and Belifontes, the Nunezes, the Fonsecas, the Guttereces, the Da Cordovas, and a hundred such names. They became the first traders and merchants of the English colony, and owe to their precedence as a people holding to the revealed faith, the preponderance of social and political influence they possess at this day as members of the legislature and as members of learned professions.”

“The first introduction of Jews into Jamaica is thus recorded by Sir William Beeston. ‘On the 31st of March, 1663, M. H. ship the “Great Guest,” Captain Bernard, commander, arrived from London and brought six Jews (with a rich cargo), who pretended they came to discover a gold mine, known to them in the Spaniard’s government, but concealed for fear it might bring grievances on a place so weakly manned as Jamaica was in the Spaniard’s time; but this was basely a pretence, for their design was only to insinuate themselves into the country for the sake of trade, and was managed by Sir John Davidson, who sent them with Mr. Watson, a German, who managed all.’ The Jews for a long time were not taxed like other residents, but were obliged to

pay an annual tribute, which the government of Sir T. Lynch assessed at £750 per annum, besides five per cent on their rents. The oldest inscribed Jewish monument is that of Leah Gedaleah."

APPENDIX II.

DR. FISHELL'S CHRONOLOGICAL NOTES OF THE HISTORY OF THE JEWS IN AMERICA.*

- " 1492. The Jews are expelled from Spain a few months before the discovery of the western continent.
- 1494. They are prohibited from settling in the new Spanish dominions.
- 1548. Portuguese Jews transplant the sugar cane from the island of Madeira to Brazil.
- 1624. All the American Israelites unite and organize a colony in Brazil. Six hundred of the leading Jews of Holland join them.
- 1650. They establish branch colonies in Cayenne and Curaçoa.
- 1654. All the Jews expelled from Brazil by the Portuguese. Twenty-three Jews from Brazil, and others from Holland, arrived in New Amsterdam.
- 1658. Fifteen Hebrew families from Holland arrive at Newport, R. I., and bring with them the first three degrees of Masonry.
- 1664. The colony at Cayenne dissolved. They remove to Surinam, Jamaica and Barbadoes.
- 1728. The first Jewish synagogue in New York, on the east side of Mill street.
- 1733. Jews in Savannah and Philadelphia.
- 1750. Jews in Charleston, S. C.
- 1765. The Jewish merchants of Philadelphia sign the non-importation resolution.
- 1779. The Jewish young men organize a corps of volunteers and join the patriots. Large sums are contributed by the Israelites towards defraying the expenses of the war.

* Historical Magazine, Series I., Vol. IV., pp. 52-3.

1790. The Hebrew communities of the United States present addresses to Washington and express their joy and gratitude. Washington in his replies explains his views on the subject of religious liberty. Three thousand Israelites in the United States.

1825. Major Noah invites his European brethren to emigrate to this country.

1859. Two hundred thousand Israelites in the United States, thirty thousand of whom reside in New York.

(Signed)

A. F."

This article appeared in 1860. After carefully considering all the evidence I am satisfied that Rev. Dr. A. Fishell, of New York City, was the author. Further information about him and the article are contained in the introduction to Judge Daly's work, and notes 32 and 85 therein.

THE LOPEZ AND RIVERA FAMILIES OF NEWPORT.

BY MAX J. KOHLER.

Through the kindness of Dr. H. Gomez, of New York, I have been enabled to make a copy of a very interesting family letter in his possession. The letter was written between 1822 and 1830 in New York, by Sarah Lopez, *née* Rivera, to a relative residing in Charleston at that time, and gives, besides other interesting facts, the genealogy of her own and of her husband's family. The details of the genealogy of these the two most prominent Jewish families of Newport are valuable to the student of American Jewish affairs in the last and in the beginning of the present century. Moreover, the husband of the writer of the letter, Aaron Lopez, of Newport, was probably the most influential and the wealthiest Jew in the country for several years. An idea of the extraordinary dimensions his business assumed may be readily obtained by glancing at the statement Judge Daly makes about him (p. 78). Mr. Lopez, at the breaking out of the American Revolution, was himself the owner of thirty vessels engaged in European and West India trade and the whale fisheries, and was then and for some years previously looked upon as the most eminent and successful merchant in New England. It is well known that the British occupation of Newport and the depredations then committed upon it permanently crippled that place, and it has never succeeded in recovering its old prestige and importance. Yet so great was the influence and reputation of Aaron Lopez that a well-informed historian of Newport, in commenting upon a sad accident which caused Aaron Lopez's death in 1782, says: "Cut off as he was preparing to renew his

various enterprises, there can be no doubt, from his extensive business relations, that had he lived he would speedily have retrieved his losses and greatly contributed to revive the business and trade of the place." (Daly, p. 86.) Of the other family, Jacob Rodriguez Rivera was the most prominent member, and his influence was second only to that of Aaron Lopez, his near relative. His business interests were also varied and enormous. It is of him that the interesting story is told that a few years after business reverses had compelled him to avail himself of the Insolvency Act, he called all his creditors together to a banquet and placed under the plate of each guest a check for the total amount due him, principal and interest. Thus had he prospered in the short interval of a few years. It is not surprising that conduct like his should have secured for him the designation, "the honest man."* But to return to the letter: it shows for instance that the very name Rivera is commonly spelt incorrectly, and it also clears up several apparent conflicts in dates by apprising us of the existence of two persons by the name of Moses Lopez who have been confounded with each other on various occasions. One bearer of the name was an older brother of Aaron, and appears to have been excused in 1750 from civil duties because of gratuitous services rendered by him in translating Spanish documents for the government; the other was a nephew of these brothers. Perhaps the most interesting points of the letter are its references to the customs of Marranos (secret Jews, living nominally as Christians) of Spain and Portugal about the middle of the last century. It is quite remarkable to find enough instances in these two families to prove that it was a rule among the Marranos not merely to adopt different Jewish names on returning publicly to their faith, which was well known, but even to have the marriage ceremony performed over again according to Jewish rites, in spite of the

* For further interesting particulars about these two families see Daly's History, and also the authorities cited in notes 83, 85 and 91.

fact that the couple may have had more or less grown-up children. My father, the Rev. Dr. K. Kohler, has kindly pointed out to me opinions *pro* and *con* on the necessity of such remarriage, rendered at various periods from the 10th to the 16th century.* But I do not believe that there has been any documentary evidence extant known to Jewish historians, showing that this remarriage was common among Marranos settling in America and there again espousing their ancestral faith.

The letter is furthermore of interest as showing how widely communications took place between Jews settled at distant places in this country already in the last century. The marriages whose contraction is referred to in the letter, and still more the intercourse and intimacies that presumably preceded them, give ample evidence of this fact. By means of this letter, moreover, two Jewish families of the last century living in Curaçoa have been identified, the Sasportas and Pementels. The New York Jewish families referred to have, of course, been well known, but I doubt whether it was well known that there were Jewish settlers in Wilmington at so early a date as the letter seems to indicate.

With these prefatory remarks, the letter will be permitted to speak for itself.

THE GENEALOGY OF THE LOPEZ FAMILY,

PRESENTED BY SARAH LOPEZ TO HER FRIEND, MRS. PRISCILLA LOPEZ,
OF CHARLESTON, BY HER REQUEST.

(*Copy of a Letter in the possession of Dr. H. Gomez.*)

This Genealogy I cannot trace farther back than from my Husband's Father named Diego Jose Lopez a man much respected and esteemed in Portugal where he was born and

* See opinion of R. Judah Minz, a German rabbi living in Padua, who died in 1508: *Die halachistische Literatur von Dr. S. Bück in "Die Jüdische Literatur seit Abschluss des Kanons"* von Winter u. Wünsche, pp. 552-5. Also Leopold Loew's *Gesammelte Schriften*, III., 185-6, giving opinions by Rashi, Duran, Kolon, and others.

married twice. By his first wife (who was my Grand Father Rivera's sister) he had two Sons and one Daughter named there Jose, Michael and Elizabeth. Jose, the oldest son, from some unpleasant circumstances connected with the affairs of the Inquisition, supposing himself in Danger of being imprisoned in that horrid place, quited the Country very young in his Father's lifetime, and went as I am informed to England, from whence he was the first of his Brothers that came to America, where in compliance with our religious forms & customs he changed his name to that of Moses and Married my Grand Father's Daughter Rebecca; the whole family afterwards removed from New York to Newport, where they lived a number of years and there he Died. He had Eight children, three of them, Isaac, Daniel & Abigail Died, and his Widow (your Husband's Mother) going finally from Newport to Charleston, and all her Children, you well know that the whole family Died there.—By the second wife of my Husband's father who was of the Lopez family, he had three Sons, named in rotation Edward, Henry & Gabriel. Henry Died quite young, and his Brother Edward the oldest who brought with him his other Brother Gabriel, the youngest (now Dead) were called here Aaron & David, they being the two next half brothers to Moses that came to America.

With the first brother Edward came also from Portugal his first wife & a young Daughter, their names being there Anna & Catherine were altered for Abigail & Sarah, the marriage ceremony of our religion being on their arrival performed here between him & his said wife. By her he had seven Children, who are all Dead, excepting the youngest Daughter named Rebecca Hendricks, a Widow residing in this City.—By my Husband's second marriage with me we had Ten Children, two sons both named Jacob Died at Newport, and my Daughter Maria Levy at Wilmington, the remaining seven now living are my Daughter Hannah Rivera, a widow, Abigail Gomez, Juliet Levy, Samuel Lopez, mar-

ried, Joshua, Delia and Gracia, unmarried. The last that came in succession to America was another own brother to Moses, by the name of Michael, altered here for Abraham. With him came also his Wife and three Sons, the Mother there being called Joana, took the name of Abigail, & the sons whose Names were in rotation Edward, Joseph and John, were changed for Moses, Samuel and Jacob, their parents Marriage Ceremony being also performed here. The whole of this family is now Dead, excepting Moses, who after the Death of his brother Jacob at Newport not long ago, came to this city, & lives in my family. Elizabeth, who was own sister to Abram & Moses, who having been married, was left a widow with four Daughters & one Son. The oldest Daughter was my Husband's first wife, who as before said came to this country. The mother and two of the other Daughters were killed by an Earthquake in Portugal in the year 1755, the House falling upon them, and the son, a worthy young Man, was murdered in Cool Blood in his own house by a Spanish traitor who lodged there one night as his intimate friend, so that of the whole family, only One Daughter was left living in Portugal, who would not quit it when the last brother came away. There were also left there several other near Connections of the Lopez name. As your own Children's Grand Mother Lopez was originally a Rivera, & the two families of Lopez and Rivera are nearly connected both by blood and marriage, I will also give you some description of the latter, beginning with my Grand Father of that name. He was born in Spain, where he married twice, being there much esteemed. By his first wife he had only one son, & by the second a Son and a Daughter. With this family he emigrated to America, and came to New York in which place was also performed the Marriage Ceremony, & had their Names altered. He took that of Abraham, the eldest son was called Isaac, the other Jacob, and the Daughter Rebecca, but what they were called in their country I cannot say.—Some time after their being settled here, Jacob, the

second Son, who afterwards became my father, went to Curacoa, where he married my Mother, a widow whose name before She had her first Husband named Sasportas was Pementel. With her he returned to New York, where I was born, and my Grand Father losing his wife he after some time married a third named Lucena, which he also buried in New York, having no children by her & the family then removed to Newport, the place of my brother Abraham's nativity, and finally the old Gentlemen & his two sons Isaac and Jacob Died there. My Mother came with me to New York (where she and my said brother ended their days), the latter left only his wife & his only son Aaron now in Wilmington, to keep up the Rivera's Name.

A LETTER OF JONAS PHILLIPS TO THE FEDERAL CONVENTION.

BY HERBERT FRIEDENWALD, PH. D., *Philadelphia.*

The subjoined letter of Jonas Phillips was brought to my attention through the kindness of Mr. S. M. Hamilton of the Department of State, who found it among the papers of the Federal Convention while examining them preparatory to publication. All of these invaluable documents are kept in a small box known to the Department of State as "the little red trunk"; and tradition has it, that the box was once the property of Thomas Jefferson, who left it when he retired from the office of Secretary of State.

Pasted on the inside of the cover of the box is a piece of paper on which the following, in the handwriting of Daniel Brent, Chief Clerk of the Department of State, 1817-1833, is written :

"This trunk contains the Journal of the Federal Convention of 1787, which framed the Constitution of The United States, together with Copies, distinct, of the various questions submitted to and decided by that Convention, and separate sheets of the Yeas and Nays of the Several States upon those questions—as also Copies of the Reports of Committees and projects of a Constitution. It also contains a transcript, made at the Department of State, by direction of M^r Secretary Adams, of those Proceedings &c. &c. for publication, under a Resolution of Congress.

The Original Books and Papers were deposited in the Department of State in 1796, by President Washington, he having been President of the Convention, to be there preserved.

D. B.

Mem. Some of the Originals were communicated by Gov^r Bloomfield, the Exer [of] Mr. Brearley, who had been a member of the Convention."

This letter of Mr. Phillips was sent to the Federal Convention ten days before it rose, and bears evidence of a curious condition of mind concerning the object of the Convention. Three weeks before it was written, that clause of the Constitution, as finally adopted, providing that "no religious test shall ever be required as a qualification to any office or public trust under the United States," had been considered and, after scarcely any debate, unanimously adopted. Beyond what Mr. Phillips himself states, nothing, I believe, is known as to the reason why he, a prominent citizen of Philadelphia, should have written such a letter. It reads:

"Sires

With leave and submission I address myself To those in whom there is wisdom understanding and knowledge, they are the honourable personages appointed and Made overseers of a part of the terrestrial globe of the Earth, Namely the 13 united states of america in Convention Assembled, the Lord preserve them amen—

I the subscriber being one of the people called Jews of the City of Philadelphia, a people scattered & dispersed among all nations do behold with Concern that among the laws in the Constitution of Pennsylvania, there is a Clause Sect 10 to viz—I do believe in one God the Creatur and governor of the universe the Rewarder of the good & the punisher of the wicked—and I do acknowledge the Scriptures of the old & New testament to be given by divine inspiration—to swear & believe that the new testament was given by divine inspiration is absolutely against the Religious principle of a Jew, and is against his Conscience to take any such oath—By the above law a Jew is deprived of holding any publick office or place of Government which is a Contridictory to the bill of Right Sect 2 viz

That all men have a natural & unalienable Right to worship almighty God according to the dictates of their own Conscience and understanding & that no man ought or of Right can be Compelled to attend any Religious Worship or Creed or support any place of worship or Maintain any minister contrary to or against his own free will and Consent, nor can any man who acknowledges the being of a God be Justly deprived or abridged of any Civil Right as a Citizen on account of his Religious sentiments or peculiar mode of Religious Worship, and that no authority can or ought to be vested in or assumed by any power whatever that shall in any case interfere or in any manner Controul the Right of Conscience in the free Exercise of Religious Worship.—

It is well known among all the Citizens of the 13 united states that the Jews have been true and faithfull whigs, & during the late Contest with England they have been foremost in aiding and assisting the states with their lives & fortunes, they have supported the cause, have bravely fought and bled for liberty which they can not Enjoy.—

Therefore if the honourable Convention shall in their Wisdom think fit and alter the said oath & leave out the words to viz—and I do acknowledge the scripture of the new testament to be given by divine inspiration, then the Israelites will think themself happy to live under a government where all Religious societys are on an Equal footing—I solicit this favour for myself my children & posterity, & for the benefit of all the Israelites through the 13 united states of America.

My prayers is unto the Lord. May the people of this states Rise up as a great & young lion, May they prevail against their Enemies, may the degrees of honour of his Excellency the president of the Convention George Washington, be Exhalted & Raise up. May Everyone speak of his glorious Exploits.

May God prolong his days among us in this land of Liberty—May he lead the armies against his Enemys as he has done hereuntofore. May God Extend peace unto the united states—May they get up to the highest Prosperitys—May God Extend peace to them & their seed after them so long as the sun & moon Endureth—and May the almighty God of our father Abraham Isaac & Jacob indue this Noble Assembly with wisdom Judgment & unanimity in their Counsells & may they have the satisfaction to see that their present toil & labour for the wellfair of the united states may be approved of Through all the world & perticular by the united states of america, is the ardent prayer of Sires

Your Most devoted obed. Servant

JONAS PHILLIPS

PHILADELPHIA 24th *Ellul* 5547 or *Sepr* 7th 1787."

It is addressed "To His Excellency the president and the Honourable Members of the Convention assembled," and is endorsed in the hand of Timothy Pickering, a member of the Convention, as follows:

"No. 8.

"Letter from Jonas Phillips a Jew, dated Sept. 7. 1787. to the President and Members of the Convention."

JACOB ISAACS AND HIS METHOD OF CONVERT- ING SALT WATER INTO FRESH WATER.

BY HERBERT FRIEDENWALD, Ph. D.

Early in the year 1791 Jacob Isaacs, a resident of Newport, Rhode Island, had presented to the House of Representatives a petition setting forth the fact "that by various experiments, with considerable labor and expense, he has discovered a method of converting salt waters into fresh, in the proportion of 8 parts out of 10, by a process so simple that it may be performed on board of vessels at sea by the common iron cabouse, with small alterations, by the same fire, and in the same time which is used for cooking the ship's provisions and offers to convey to the government of the United States, a faithful account of his art or secret, to be used by or within the United States on their giving to him a reward suitable to the importance of the discovery, and in the opinion of government, adequate to his expences, and the time he has devoted to the bringing it into effect."*

The House appreciating its inability to cope understandingly with so learned a matter, and knowing well the scientific attainments of the Secretary of State, Thomas Jefferson, forthwith referred the petition to him for his consideration and report. He, as soon as possible, took the matter in hand, and in order to be able to test Mr. Isaacs's experiments with all due thoroughness, invited as participants and observers three of the best known American men of science of the day, Dr. David Rittenhouse, Dr. Caspar Wistar and Dr. Hutchinson. To Dr. Hutchinson he wrote on March 12th as follows:†

* Jefferson MSS., Department of State, 4th Series, Vol. I., p. 140.

† *Ibid.*, 1st Series, Vol. IV., p. 254.

“PHILADELPHIA Mar. 12. 1791.

Sir

Congress having referred to me a petition from a person of the name of Isaacs, setting forth that he has discovered an easy Method of rendering sea-water potable, I have had a cask of sea-water procured, & the petitioner has erected a small apparatus in my office, in order to exhibit his process. Monday Morning 10 o'clock is fixed on as the time for doing it. it would give me great satisfaction to be assisted on the occasion by your chemical Knowledge, & the object of the letter I now take the liberty of writing is to ask whether it would be convenient for you to be present at the time & place before mentioned; which, besides contributing to a public good, will much oblige Sir

Your most obed^t

& most humble serv^t

TH : JEFFERSON.

Dr. Hutchinson.”

Two days later the experiments were begun, but were not satisfactory, and Jefferson's desire to give Mr. Isaacs a fair chance, even putting himself to some inconvenience, is shown in the following letter to Dr. Wistar, written March 20, 1791 :*

“Sir

I am thankful for the trouble which yourself & Doctr. Hutchinson have taken & are still willing to take on the subject of Mr. Isaacs' discovery. however his Method may turn out, this advantage will certainly result from it, that having drawn the public attention to the subject, it may be made the occasion of disseminating among the Masters of vessels a Knowledge of the fact that fresh water may be obtained from salt water by a common distillation & in abundance. tho' Lind's, Irvine's & McQueer's experiments should suffice to satisfy them of this, yet it may fix their

* Jefferson Papers, 1st Series, Vol. IV., p. 159.

faith more firmly if we can say to them that we have tried these experiments ourselves & can vouch for their effect. If Mr. Isaac's mixture can increase that effect, so much the better; it will be a new flower in the American wreath. he is poor, and complains that his delay here is very distressing to him. therefore I propose tomorrow for the experiment, & will ask the favor of you to fix any hour that may best suit the convenience of Doctr. Hutchinson & yourself, from 5. in the morning to 12 at night, all being equal to me. only be so good as to notify it in time for me to give notice to Mr. Isaacs. will it not save time if the great still can be set a going at the same time with the small ones? he protests against any unfavorable conclusions from a small experiment, because never having tried his method in a small way, he does not know how to proportion his mixture.

I am with great esteem, Sir,
your most obedt. humble sert.

TH: JEFFERSON.

Doctr. Wister."

Four days more were then given up to experiments, when, having arrived at certain conclusions, Jefferson wrote to another of his friends asking for some literature bearing on the subject of former experiments. Meanwhile Congress had adjourned, and so the opportunity of adding another "flower to the American wreath," and of aiding the penniless Mr. Isaacs was put off for some time. Congress reassembled at the end of October, 1791, but it was not till a month later that Mr. Jefferson sent in his report. It is of great length, and begins with the statement that "in order to ascertain the merit of the petitioner's discovery it becomes necessary to examine the advances already made in the art of converting salt water into fresh." Then follows, in order, a review of all previous experiments on the subject. First he considers those of Lord Bacon, then those of various men of science during the 16th, 17th and 18th centuries, giving

especial attention to the experiments of one Dr. Lind, whose period of activity in respect of this matter extended from 1762 to about 1770; and, finally, those of Dr. Irvin and M. de Bougainville. Summing up he says:

“SUCH were the advances already Made in the Art of obtaining fresh from Salt Water, when Mr. Isaacks the petitioner suggested his discovery.

AS the merit of this could be ascertained by experiment only, the Secretary of State asked the favor of Mr. Rittenhouse, President of the American Philosophical Society, of Doctr. Wister, professor of chemistry in the college of Philadelphia, and Doctr. Hutchinson, professor of chemistry in the University of Pennsylvania, to be present at the experiments. Mr. Isaacks fixed the pot of a small cabouse, with a tin cap, and strait tube of tin passing obliquely through a cask of cold water: he made use of a Mixture, the composition of which he did not explain, and from 24 pints of sea water, taken up about three Miles out of the capes of Delaware, at flood tide, he distilled 22 pints of fresh water in four hours, with 20 lbs. of seasoned pine, which was a little wetted, by having lain in the rain.

ON a second experiment of the 21st of March, performed in a furnace, and 5 gallon still at the College, from 32 pints of sea Water, he drew 31 pints of fresh water in 7 h. 24 m. with 51 lbs. of hicory, which had been cut about six Months. In order to decide whether Mr. Isaack's Mixture's contributed in any, and what degree to the success of the operation, it was thought proper to repeat his experiment under the same circumstances exactly, except the omission of the mixture. Accordingly, on the next day, the same quantity of sea water was put into the same still, the same furnace was used, and fuel from the same parcel: it yielded, as his had done, 31 pints of fresh water, in 11 m. more of time, and with 10 lbs. less of wood.

ON the 24th of March, Mr. Isaacks performed a third experiment. For this, a common iron pot of $3\frac{1}{2}$ gallons was fixed in brick work, and the flue from the hearth wound once round the pot spirally, and then passed off up a chimney. The cap was of tin, and a strait tin tube of about two inches diameter, passing obliquely through a barrel of water, served instead of a worm. From 16 pints of sea water, he drew off 15 pints of fresh water in 2 h. 55 m. with 3 lbs. of dry hiccory, and 8 lbs. of seasoned pine. This experiment was also repeated the next day, with the same apparatus, and fuel from the same parcel, but without the mixture; 16 pints of sea water, yielded, in like manner 15 pints of fresh in 1 m. more of time, and with $\frac{1}{2}$ lb. less of wood. On the whole, it was evident, that Mr. Isaacks Mixture produced no advantage, either in the process or result of the distillation.

THE distilled Water in all these instances, was found on experiment to be as pure as the best pump water of the City: it's taste indeed, was not as agreeable, but it was not such as to produce any disgust. In fact, we drink in common life, in many places, and under many circumstances, and almost always at sea, a worse tasted, and probably a less wholesome water.

THE obtaining fresh from salt water, was for ages considered as an important desideratum for the use of navigators. The process for doing this by simple distillation, is so efficacious, the erecting an extempore still, with such utensils as are found on board of every ship, is so practicable, as to authorize the assertion, that this desideratum is satisfied to a very useful degree. But tho' this has been done for upwards of thirty years, tho' its reality has been established by the actual experience of several vessels which have had recourse to it, yet neither the fact, nor the process is known to the mass of seamen, to whom it would be the most useful, and for whom it was principally wanted. The Secretary of State is therefore of opinion, that since the subject has now been brought under observation, it should be made the occasion of dis-

seminating it's knowledge generally and effectually among the seafaring citizens of the United States. The following is one of the many methods which might be proposed for doing this. Let the clearance for every vessel sailing from the ports of the United States, be printed on a paper, on the back whereof, shall be a printed account of the essays which have been made for obtaining fresh from salt water, mentioning shortly those which have been unsuccessful, and more fully those which have succeeded, describing the methods which have been found to answer for constructing extempore stills of such implements as are generally on board of every vessel, with a recommendation, in all cases where they shall have occasion to resort to this expedient for obtaining water, to publish the result of their trial in some gazette, on their return to the United States or to communicate it for publication to the office of the Secretary of State, in order that others may, by their success, be encouraged to make similar trials, and be benefitted by any improvements, or new ideas which may occur to them in practice."*

Until November 1st Mr. Isaacs had waited patiently for the outcome of his petition; then he wrote to Jefferson asking for information. By the time this letter reached its destination the report had been sent to Congress, so Jefferson in reply did nothing but mention that fact, sending Isaacs at the same time a printed copy of the report. In Congress short work was made of the matter. It was read and then, upon motion, laid on the table, and that is the last of Mr. Isaacs's petition. As has been shown, Jefferson fully appreciated the importance of Isaacs's discovery, if such it proved to be. He was one of the few individuals who had left his comfortable home and shut himself up in a disagreeable vessel for eight weeks or more in order to reach the old country, and he knew what hardships such a trip entailed. There is, too, another point to be considered. Rumsey and Fitch had both, only a few years before, succeeded in moving vessels by

* Jefferson MSS., 4th Series, Vol. I., p. 140 *et seq.*

steam, and a boat built by Fitch was even then passing up and down the Delaware. These advances were no doubt known to Isaacs and may have had something to do with moving him to petition Congress as he did. The time was not far distant when the first boat propelled by steam was to cross the Atlantic, and, if only as a matter of sentiment, we may link Isaacs's name with that long series of endeavors which finally resulted in making a trip across the sea a less formidable adventure.

MEMORIALS PRESENTED TO THE CONTINENTAL CONGRESS.

BY HERBERT FRIEDENWALD, Ph. D.

I.

“To the United States of America in Congress assembled.*

The Memorial of Levy Solomons of Montreal in the Province of Quebec Merchant.

Sheweth

That General Montgomery on his Arrival at Montreal in 1775 sent for your memorialist and desired him to act as Purveyor to the American Hospitals in Canada for which service General Montgomery promised him two Guineas £ day for himself and five shillings sterling £ day for a Clerk. In consequence of which your memorialist immediately procured & furnished a large House for the Accommodation of the Sick and sometime after two other Houses for small-pox Hospitals the whole Expence of fitting up and furnishing the said Hospitals as well as that of providing every thing necessary for the Patients (particulars of which are exhibited in accounts marked A) was supported entirely by himself. He likewise at the Requisition of Col. Richmore Captains Lamb, Motte, & Goeforth furnished sundries for their men. Sundries also to General Wooster, and Mr. Tucker, and to Major Nicholson sundries for the Troops before Quebec (particulars of all which will appear £ the Accounts marked B & E.)

That after the death of General Montgomery when American Affairs in Canada begun to wear an unfavorable Aspect when all the hard money Your Memorialist could procure was expended in the Service and his own Credit (on account

* Papers of the Continental Congress, No. 35, pp. 149 *a*, *b*, *c*.

of the part he had taken) ruined, he applied to General Wooster who unable to assist urged him to fall upon some Method of still providing for the preservation of the Sick. Your Memorialist had at that Time a large quantity of Rum on Commission from Messrs. Farquer & Vialars of Quebec with Orders not to sell it for less than a dollar a Gallon of this Rum at General Woosters desire and under his promise of Indemnification Your Memorialist sold about four Thousand Gallons at four Livres five Sols, by which he sustained a loss of nearly Seven Thousand Livres.

That during the Time Gen. Arnold was out at La Chine he found it necessary to appropriate sundry Goods Arms & Ammunition that Your Memorialist had stored there and intended for the upper Country Trade to the Use of the Troops under his Command (the particulars of which will appear $\text{\pounds}$ account marked C.) And that after the Continental Forces had retired from Montreal General Arnold sent a Party from Laprarie who without the Consent or privity of Your Memorialist seized and carried off from La Chine a quantity of Brazil & Carrot Tobacco with other Indian Goods the property of Your Memorialist and by him destined for Michilimackinac for which he never obtained a receipt or any acknowledgement whatever (the particulars and Amount of these Articles are exhibited in the Account D.)

That Your Memorialist continued his support of & assistance to the American Army 'till the day they left Montreal when being pressed closely by General Carleton and when the Friends to Government here had engaged or sent out of the way every Cart & Carriage in Town, so that the Sick, the hospital stores and Bedding &c. must have inevitably fallen into the hands of the Enemy but for the extraordinary Exertions of Your Memorialist, at this Conjunction, He by sending all his own Carriages & procuring others from the Country happily effected the purpose of getting them off, happily for the American party but eventually of most disagreeable consequences to himself since this last Circumstance more than any other has exposed him to Insults &

Injuries from people of every denomination in the Province of which you will allow him to mention a few Instances. On the first of July 1776 he received an order from General Burgoyne to quit his House in four days a house he had rented from May to May for seven Years, on the fourth day he was turned into the street by an Ensign Parker of the 29th Regt. and a Party of soldiers, himself, his Wife and children, destitute of everything except the Cloaths on their Backs, & all his Goods & Furniture in the house left to the management of the soldiery, in this situation, without Money, without Friends, he obtained Permission to shelter his Family, in the house of a former acquaintance who at the end of five days informed him he must leave her house immediately she having been made to understand it was dangerous to harbour so notorious a Rebel. He then retreated to a small Vault where he continued two months in a miserable situation almost without the means of subsistence and being under the Frowns of Government deserted by every one. At length such part of his Effects as had escaped the pillage of the Soldiery were thrown upon the Parade & himself informed he might either leave them or take them as he thought proper, and that this even was too great Indulgence to a Rebel.

Notwithstanding the persecution Your Memorialist has suffered he has always uniformly adhered to the American Side and as the Face of his affairs have taken a more favorable turn he has been enabled from time to time to lend his assistance to such prisoners as have been brought in here, particularly Col. Campbell from Virginia, Col. Stacey of Massachusetts Bay, Captain Wood of New York State & others to a considerable Amount a part only of which he has been reimbursed this Fall and doubtless Cap^t Wood who stands engaged for the whole will take an early Opportunity of discharging the remainder, in this however should he fail Congress will hardly think it reasonable that their Memorialist shall be the sufferer.

On the retreat of the Continental Army from this Province Your Memorialist had upwards of fourteen Hundred Dollars

of Continental Paper Money in his possession part of which he had received on account from General Wooster which have remained 'till this day useless in his hands & which he herewith sends together with the Accounts above referred to by a Gentleman vested with his power of Attorney who will attend the determination of Congress thereon

Your Memorialist has only to observe with respect to the accounts herewith exhibited marked A, B, & C, that they were drawn out by Mr. Benjamin Thompson (his Clerk during the time of the above Transactions) who will attend & if required authenticate them upon Oath. With respect to the Loss sustained on the Rum Sales Your Memorialist cannot pretend to speak with the same precision having irrecoverably lost his Books and most of his papers at the Time he was so cruelly turned out of his house, he can however truly declare that this Account as above stated is not in the least exaggerated

Your Memorialist can with confidence refer you to the Honble. Messrs. Corral,* Franklin & Chace, the Generals Lamb & Hazen and every officer at that time in Canada for an Account of his Conduct during the stay of the Continental Army in that Province, and to almost every other Gentleman whom the Fortune of War has brought prisoner to Montreal since for an Account of his subsequent Behaviour.

Your Memorialist therefore prays that the foregoing Circumstances may be taken into Consideration not in the least doubting but his real advances will be reimbursed to him with legal Interest his Services and his sufferings rewarded and compensated, & that the Justice & Candour of Congress will oblige him to consider it his Duty to pray for the Prosperity of the United States of America

LEVY SOLOMONS.

MONTREAL

November 15th 1784."

* Charles Carroll of Carrollton. These three members of the Continental Congress were sent by that body to Canada, in the spring of 1776, to confer with the officers in command there.

[Endorsement.]

“Levy Solomons Memorial

The papers that came enclosed in this Memorial were delivered to M. B. Thompson 27th July 1785 and a receipt taken and filed——”*

II.

“To his Excellency Elias Boudinot Esqr. President & the Honourable Delegates of the United States of North America in Congress.†

The Humble Petition of Eleazar Levy

Humbly Sheweth

That your Petitioner on the 26th of August 1779 presented a Petition to Congress, Copy of which is herewith annexed, and about Six weeks after he presented the same, called on your Secretary Charles Thomson Esqr. to know the result thereof, was by him informed, That said Petition with many others of a similar Tendency would be settled at the conclusion of the War

Tho’ greatly distress’d was consoled with the Idea of being put on a footing of Equality with many others in like circumstances, and a firm reliance of receiving equal Justice and relief with others.

Four months after delivery of said Petition, the Mortgagor of the Lands at West Point came to Philadelphia, Presented his Petition to Congress, the result of his said Petition is Stated in the Resolves of Congress of the 7th of February 1780.

In my former Petition as also in this, your Petitioner refers his Case to the Consideration and Equity of Congress and does not found his Claim on any pretension of Law, as in that Case it would be necessary to be enforced and Argued by Council learned in the Law

*The accounts mentioned in the memorial as accompanying it have not been found.

† Papers of the Continental Congress, No. 42, Vol. IV., p. 294.

The War Raging in the State of New York the whole time it did continue prevented the necessary Steps to be taken as the laws of that State directs in such Cases, nor could your Petitioner have availed himself in any manner of getting Possession, as the said Lands at West Point have for several Years last past been Occupied by the United States, against whom no Process can issue, nor are my abilities adequate to the Expenses necessary to carry on such a Suit, nor my remedy at Law attainable

Your Petitioner also could not have availed him (*sic*) of his common Remedy at Law against the Mortgagor when here and procured payment from your Excellency and Honours, by reason the Tender Law was then in force, that in Case your Petitioner had sued, would have been obliged to have received bills of Paper at that time Forty for one, the Sum then due me on the Mortgage being Fifteen Hundred Pounds I should have received Thirty Seven pounds Ten Shillings value in Gold and Silver, and being under these Circumstance, your Petitioner was put at Defiance by the Mortgagor, with the additional Mortification, by a Declaration from the said Mortgagor, that his Interest had procured him a Compensation and would procure him a future payment to the exclusion of your Petitioner the Mortgagee.

Your Petitioner has resided in this State Seven Years to which he came from New York from Principles Repugnant to British Hostilities, during said time he has suffered great Distress, and in this his Eve of Life reduced from a Comfortable Subsistence to a State of Poverty and Wretchedness, and in order to relieve himself has offered to assign the whole of the money with the Interest due on the Mortgage of the Lands at West Point for one fourth part of the Amount thereof, but unfortunately have not been able to procure a purchaser even at that reduced Rate.

Your Petitioner humbly requests your Excellency and Honours attention to the Equity and Justness of his Case

and consideration of his present distressed Situation, and your Petitioner is willing and ready to assign or deposit his Mortgage for any Sum Congress may please to advance your Petitioner towards a relief of his present difficult situation and therewith enabled to leave this State and return to New York.

And your Petitioner will ever pray
Philadelphia 23d May 1783."

"To his Excellency John Jay Esqr. President & the Honble
Delegates of the United States of North America.

The Petition of Eleazer Levy Humbly Sheweth

That your Petitioner is possessed of a Mortgage and Conveyance of the Lands at West Point on Hudson River, whereon the works and Fortifications belong to the United States are erected as also the Range of Wood Lands contiguous, containing in the whole One Thousand and Eighty Acres The said Mortgage and Conveyance being in Consequence of a Bond from the proprietor of said Lands to your Petitioner dated at New York the 29th of May 1772 Conditioned for the payment of One Thousand Pounds lawful money of New York with lawful Interest from the date thereof amounting in the whole to £1500 and upwards, no part of which principle or Interest has as yet been paid your Petitioner or to any person for his use

That great Waste has been made on said Lands by the Army of the United States, and great quantity of the Woods on said Lands has been Cut down for the use of the Works there erected, and for Fuel and other purposes, they yet continue cutting said Woods, that the Lands remain of little or no value, by which your Petitioner is deprived of the Security of his Mortgage and must become a very great Sufferer

Your Petitioner relying on the Honor and Equity of Congress humbly requests his Case be taken into Consideration and such Relief & Recompense be ordered your Petitioner

as to your Excellency and Honors shall appear Just and Equitable

And your Petitioner will ever pray

Philadelphia 26th August 1779."

[Endorsement.]

N. 18—

"Petition Presenting to Congress—Eleazer Levy—The Committee of the Week reports upon the Petition of Eleazer Levy respecting a Mortgage which he holds upon the lands at West Point That in their opinion it is not expedient for Congress to take any order therein—

May 23. 1783.—"

III.

"Sir,

Permit us to Address your Excellency and the other Representatives of the United States on behalf of Aaron Lopez Esqr. a Merchant residing in the State of Massachusetts Bay.

That Gentleman before the Commencement of the present War had Property to a very large Amount in the Island of Jamaica. He has withdrawn Part; but has still a great Proportion of it remaining in Bonds, Judgments, & protested Bills; which debts cannot possibly be received in any other Manner, than in the Produce of the Island. Capn. Benjamin Wright, his Factor in Jamaica, has lately returned to Rhode-Island, where he has some real estate, and a Family consisting of a Wife and Children. In the attempts which Mr. Lopez has made to draw his Effects from Jamaica, his Vessels have been captured by private armed Vessels, belonging to Inhabitants of the United States, and he has been involved in Suits in the Courts of Admiralty and Appeals, which though finally determined in his favor, have been tedious, troublesome, & expensive. In order to avoid Similar Inconveniences in future, he has desired and empowered us to apply to the Honorable Body in his Behalf, for a Protection for his Property, and that of his Factor. The

Character of Mr. Lopez, as a Friend to the Liberties and Independence of the United States, is clear & unimpeached, as will be testified by some honorable Members of this House. The Method by which he proposes to bring off his Property is, to send Capn. Wright and a trusty Navigator, an Inhabitant of this Country, by Way of some neutral Port, to Jamaica, from whence Capn. Wright is to dispatch the Property received in a Vessel, under the Command of such Navigator, to some Port of the United States. The Navigator whom he has in view for this Purpose, is Capn. Daniel Gardner, a Man, as we are informed by Mr. Lopez, of Reputation, and remarkably attached to the Cause of America. Mr. Lopez wishes for separate Protections; one for himself, the other for Capn. Wright.

When these Circumstances (the Truth of Most of which appears upon the Records of the Court of Appeals) are considered, we hope that Congress will be pleased to grant to Mr. Lopez and Capn. Wright the Protection for which we apply on their Behalf. Indulgencies of the same kind, have been already granted, as we have been informed, by Congress, to others on similar Occasions. Few, we believe, have better Reason to expect them than Mr. Lopez has. He is a Merchant of extensive Business, is active, enterprising, and public Spirited.

We have the Honor to be,

Sir,

Your Excellency's

Very obedient & most hum. Servants

JAMES WILSON

WM. LEWIS.

Philada. 19th April 1780."

[Addressed] "His Excellency Samuel Huntington Esquire President of Congress."

[Endorsed] "Letter from James Wilson and Wm. Lewis Esqrs.

April 19th 1780. read same day."*

* Papers of the Continental Congress, No. 78, Vol. 24, p. 199.

COLUMBUS IN JEWISH LITERATURE.

BY PROFESSOR R. J. H. GOTTHEIL, *Columbia College, New York.*

Joseph ben Joshua Hakkōhēn was of Spanish parentage.* His family had been compelled to leave their home during the forced exodus of 1492. His father settled in Avignon, at which place Joseph was born; but, later, removed to Genoa. When the Jews were expelled from that city, Joseph went to Voltaggio, where he did most of his literary work. He died in the year 1575.

Joseph was a careful historian. He gathered his facts from all possible sources, made notes, kept registers—all of which served him as material when writing his *Emek Hab-bākhāh* and *Dibhrē Hayyāmim*.† This last work is a Book of Chronicles—not only of his own people, but also of all the nations with whom they had come in contact. It contains an account of Columbus, which has recently been the subject of some discussion.‡ He curiously confounds Columbus with Americo. The whole description is vague and poor, and Harris is right§ in wondering at the meagreness of Joseph's information. For the Genoa Psalter of 1516 was published before he wrote, and that contains a long and trustworthy account.

* On Joseph Kohen, see Steinschneider, *Bodleian Catalogue*, col. 1498; *Jewish Literature*, p. 251; *Hebraische Uebersetzungen*, vol. II., pp. 775, 948; Neubauer, *Medieval Jewish Chronicles*, p. xix; *Revue des Études Juives*, vol. xiv, pp. 28 sq.

† An English translation of this book was published in 1836 by C. H. F. Bialloblotzky, "*The Chronicles of Rabbi Joseph . . . the Sphardi*." 2 vols. London. Oriental Translation Fund.

‡ See A. Kohut, *References to Columbus and America's Discovery in Contemporaneous Hebrew Literature*. The Menorah, Dec. 1892, pp. 403 sq.

§ *Centralblatt für Bibliothekswesen*, 1888, p. 136.

The explanation is to be found in the peculiar manner in which Joseph wrote his works. Books were scarce in those days. Joseph had difficulty in procuring those he needed. He says expressly in a passage which I shall cite further on, that he did not, at that time, have the good fortune to possess a book giving him detailed information about the discoveries made in America. Afterwards he was able to obtain such a work, and he immediately set about to do it into Hebrew in order that his people might have correct information on the subject. This work was *La Historia general de las Indias* of Francisco Lopez de Gomara.* This work in two parts (*The Book of India* and *The Book of Fernando Cortes*, or *The Book of Mexico*) he joined to another work *Massibh Gebhulōth* 'Ammim,† itself a translation of the *Omnium gentium mores leges et ritus* of Joan Boemus.

Now, the redaction of his *Chronicles* was finished in 1553. The translation of Boemus' work bears the date 1555. It was only after he had completed these two that he commenced translating his larger work on America, which he completed in the year 1557. We can thus follow closely his gradual acquisition of knowledge on the subject of the discoveries in the New World. Had he written his *Chronicles* after his translation of de Gomara, our judgment upon them would not have been so severe.

It is, perhaps, wrong to call these works translations. I have before me the text of de Gomara as published in the 22d volume of the *Bibliotheca de Autores Españoles*, Madrid, 1884. The Hebrew is an abridgment and only preserves the general run of the original. But Joseph is very careful in his proper names. At the end of each treatise he even has a list of Spanish words used, with their Hebrew equivalents.

* Cf. *Bibliographical Notice of Rare and Curious Books relating to America . . . in the Library of Carter Brown*. Providence. Vol. I., p. 168; Vol. II., p. 14. Winsor, *Narrative and Critical History of America*, Vol. II.

† i. e. that which setteth the bounds of the people. Deut. 32, 6.

Poetical quotations he gives in Spanish, but in Hebrew characters; and he adds a rhymed Hebrew translation of his own.

The MS. of these two works—for they seem to have been intended to go together—in my library was purchased at the sale of the library of the late R. N. Rabinowitz in Munich.* It was sold to me as being unique. It was some time afterwards that I discovered that I had been the victim of a deception, for another MS. of the same work was sold to the *Alliance israelite* in Paris at about the same time. To be more accurate, the MS. that I had bought was sold to Paris and an inferior one sent to me.† The discovery came when I read the excellent article of the late Isidore Loeb (*Revue des Études Juives*, Vol. XVI., pp. 28 sq.‡) on the very MS. which I supposed I had bought. Mr. Rabinowitz had died in the meantime, so that redress was impossible.

There are thus two MSS. of this work known. There were originally more copies. Joseph, it seems, thought well of his own works. He made several copies of the translation, carefully adding the date at which he finished each copy. That now in the library of the *Alliance* was the ninth, and was finished in the year 1568. My own copy is the fifth, and bears the date 12th Tishri, 1564. Our author had also a *penchant* for poetry. He affixed to this, his fifth copy, quite a number of verses; also formulæ for the heading of letters addressed to various personages of rank. There is the mark of the *visé* of a censor, with the date 1607.

* It is only necessary to look at the Catalogue *Reshimath Sefarim Y'shēnīm, hamshēkh*, etc., sent out by Mr. Rabinowitz himself. I refer to the one bearing the date 5th Tammuz, 5647. The MS. is numbered 129 (p. 20), and the note is added: *w'lo' nōdha' 'ōdh bā'ōlām*. But the buyer of MSS. must expect many a surprise! Steinschneider, *Hebr. Uebersetz.*, p. 948, speaks of another MS. (Servi, dated 15 Omer, 1567). I can find nothing more about it.

† Towards the end, the ink has eaten into the thin paper and partly destroyed it.

‡ See also Leonello Modona, *Gli ebrei e la scoperta dell' America*, Casale, 1893, p. 5. I am indebted to one of my students, Mr. George Kohut, for this notice.

At the end of his abridgment of Boemus, Joseph has added a chapter of his own, entitled "On the other islands of the Mediterranean Sea," whose names the author did not mention. The concluding paragraph of this section reads: "These, then, are the nations, whose names are known to us: these are their customs and rites up to this day. But, in our own times Columbus the Genoan discovered large Islands and Kingdoms in the direction of the setting sun, the names of which were unknown up to the present day. Many Spaniards followed him, and they—in their turn—found cities which Columbus had not seen, as well as the whole country of Peru, where there is gold. They fought with these nations and made them tributary. These lands have belonged to the Kings of Spain, even unto this day. From there gold is brought, year by year. The inhabitants of those cities were idolaters, until the coming there of the Spaniards, who brought them from gloom into utter darkness. They also found there cities belonging to men who were like unto beasts—eaters of human flesh, even unto this day. The servants of the King of Portugal found also the island which to-day they call San Tome (סַן טוֹמֵי). There they found only the large fishes which come up from the sea, which they call Lagartos (לֶאֱגָרְטוֹיִם), and serpents and insects and conies.* Thither the king sends every one condemned to death. He also sent some Jews there.

*Through the courtesy of Professor H. B. Adams, I am able to make use of the following references collected by Mr. J. H. Hollander: "In the year 1493, when King John the Second conferred the seignory of St. Thomas's isle upon Don Alvaro de Caminha, he obliged the latter to people it, and, for this purpose, ordered that all the Jews should have their sons and daughters of tender age taken away from them, and that after the baptism of the latter, these should be handed over (as was done) to Don Alvaro, for the purpose of peopling the said isle of St. Thomas. Osorino, *De Rebus gestis Emanuelis regis Portugalliae*, lib. prim.; Monteiro, *Historia da Santa Inquis.*, parte 1ª, liv. seg., cap. 2. Cf. de Castro, *History of the Jews in Spain*, London, 1851, p. 202; Lindo, *History of the Jews in Spain and Portugal*, p. 323; Jost, *Geschichte der Juden*, viii, p. 93."

They found no saviour in the day of the anger of God. They were friendly with the servants of the King of Portugal, and built houses in which to dwell, and tilled their land. The ground gave forth its produce, and they dwelt there in safety. They also planted sugar-canes (קני הרבש), which increased greatly. From there they bring the juice of the cane, which they call sugar (אסוקאר) to Portugal. But up till now I have not had the good fortune to see a book relating these journeys, or to learn a sufficient number of facts so as to write a book upon the subject.

And so I give thanks to God who has assisted me in writing this book thus far. I pray that in His mercy He may find me worthy to write other books to the glory of His great name, and to complete the account of the lands of Peru and Mexico, the other islands of the sea, Kush and Libya (?). To the end that the children of Israel know that the Lord is a God of knowledge, who maketh a way in the sea, and a path in the mighty waters: by Him actions are weighed. Finished on the first day of the week, the fourth of Tammuz here in Voltaggio, the city in which I, Joseph Hakkōhēn, dwell: in the vicinity of Genoa, in the year 5315."

The superscription to the abridgment of de Gomara reads: "Saith Joseph, son of Meir, son of Judah, son of Joshua, son of Judah, son of David, son of Moses, of the priests who went from Goete (גויאטי) in the land of Spain. I have sent to Spain to bring this book *New India*. It was forwarded to me. It also is divided into three parts, not counting the Book on Mexico (מיינשיקו). I set my heart upon translating them."

Chapter 5 of Part I. of this book on India reads as follows: "We commence by relating how the Islands in India were first found. Columbus the Genoan (קולומבו הנימובישי) was a man mighty in strength, accustomed all his life to sail on the sea in ships. This Christopher Columbus learned how to make sea-charts (מגלות מלחות). He went to Por-

tugal, in order to become acquainted with the cities in Southern Africa which are near the sea, and the way by which the Portuguese (פורטוגיזיט) reach Calicut (קאליקוט). It happened, at that time, that a ship set out from Spain for the seas of Canaria (קאנאריא). But the wind blew upon the ship and drove it to a land which neither they nor their fathers had known. Most of the men died on the way. After some time, the ship returned. On it were five men and the captain. He went to the house of Columbus, took sick and died. His name has not become known, even unto this day. Only the remembrance of the road they took has been preserved through Columbus. About this time his heart prompted him to go there. He sent Bartholomew (בארטולומיאז) his brother to Henry (אינקו) VII., King of England (אינגלאטירה), to ask for help and means to go there. He told him (king) of all the precious wealth to be found there. But the King would not hearken to his voice. He also asked the King of Portugal (פורטוגאל); but he appeared as one joking. Then he went to Ferdinand (פֶּרְדִּינַאנדו), King of Spain, and his accursed wife Isabella (איזאבלה), while they were fighting against Granada (גראנאדה) in the year 1486. But at that time, they would not incline their ear.

When, however, he spoke to them day after day, they came to believe in the promises he made to bring all manner of precious wealth, silver and gold and spices. They received him well: he found, at this time, favor in the eyes of all who saw him. They gave him (Columbus) a tenth of the taxes gathered from those lands which did not belong to the King of Portugal: for the two kings were at peace one with the other. They made an agreement with him, written and sealed in Granada on the 30th of April (אבריל) in the year 1492—*i. e.* the year of the expulsion.

In that frightful year all the hosts of the Lord went forth from the land of Spain at the command of these rulers: in the fifth month. From there they spread to the four corners

of the earth. They went in ships to Africa (אפריקה), Asia (אשיאה), Greece (יוון), and Turkey (תורקיה). There they have dwelt up to this day. From Cartagena (קארטאגנה) there went out sixteen large ships filled with human beings, on the sixth day, on the tenth day of the month. In the rest of the cities of the king, and the cities near the sea, what did they do? There came over them many and evil misfortunes and various troubles, so that they grew weary on the way. Look O Lord! Turn and save us for the sake of Thy name!"

Chapter 6 of Book I. tells how Columbus first came upon the islands of India.

"These two princes gave him three ships. He went to sea with Bartholomew his brother. At that time there were with them one hundred and fifty men. They journeyed from Palos de Moguer (פאלוס דֵּי מוגיר) on the third day of the month of August (אגוסט), passing by Gomera (גומירה) which belongs to the Canary Islands. They continued their journey and found a certain herb upon the sea in large quantities. At that time they were in great fear. They went on their way; but had not gone far when one of the men saw [a light], from afar off, and told this to his fellows. Their spirits revived while he spoke to them. On the morrow, i. e. on the eleventh day of the month of October, the lookout cried with a loud voice 'Land! Land!' All ran and looked, and gave thanks to God, lifted up their voices and wept. These men now kissed the hand of Columbus, bowed down to him and said 'Behold! we are thy servants!' Then they neared the dry land, and came to the Island Guanahani (גואנאהני) which belongs to the Lucayos (לוקאיוס) Islands, between Florida (פלורידה) and the Island of Cuba (קובה). This is the first island which was taken in the name of the Kings of Spain. From there they went to Barueoa (באריווא) which is in the Island of Cuba, and they took some of the men of that place. Then they returned to the Island of Haiti (האיטי), threw the anchors into the sea, and

came to anchor there. Columbus called the name of that place Puerto Real (פּוּרְטוֹ רֵאָל). One of his ships was destroyed there.

The men then went on shore. Columbus, also, went with them at that time. The Indians saw the Spaniards and their arms. Taking them to be cannibals (קַאנִיבַלִּים), eaters of human flesh, they fled to the mountains. The Spaniards pursued after them and came upon a naked woman, to whom they gave bread and wine, a linen garment and clothes wherewith to clothe her nakedness. Then they let her go. She ran and told the Indians what they had done to her, whereupon many of them came to the sea at that time. But they were unable to understand each other's speech; so that they were compelled to speak with them as one speaks to a dumb man. The Indians brought bread and fruit and birds and gold and many other things, and exchanged these for bells and glass necklaces and needles, and other things which were in the coffers of the Spaniards. At which Columbus was exceeding glad.

There came also thither Guacanagari (גּוּאַקַּאנַאגַּרִי), the head of the city, whom they call Cacique (קַאקִיקֵי). They greeted each other, gave presents, and made a covenant. The Indians brought some of their ships to the place and with heart and soul, as much as was in their power, helped the Spaniards to save some of the fittings of the ship which had been wrecked outside. Columbus rejoiced when he saw that the natives had much gold, and that they were disposed to be friendly. He made up his mind to return and relate to the princes what he had found there. He built a stronghold with the consent of the Cacique: whose men assisted him until it was built. He placed in it thirty-eight men in order that they might learn the language of the people and the hidden places of this country, until the time when he should return to them.

Columbus took with him ten Indians, forty papagayos (פּאַפּאַגַּאיוֹס) and gallipavos (גַּלִּיפַּאבּוֹס) in large numbers, and

conies and Ajies (אֵיִיִּס) and Batatas (בַּטַּטָּס) and maize (מַיִזָּה), and other strange things, and the gold which he had gotten in exchange. He embarked, and the chief of the city wept when they left that place. Columbus returned to Palos de Moguer at the end of fifty days, in the year 1493."

I refrain from translating further. The history of Columbus and of the later discoveries in the South American continent is related *in extenso*. The above may serve as a specimen.

SETTLEMENT OF THE JEWS IN TEXAS.

BY REV. HENRY COHEN, *Galveston, Texas.*

The first Jewish settler in Texas of whom any record is preserved was Samuel Isaacs, who came from the United States in 1821, with Austin's first colony of three hundred. As a colonist he received "a Spanish grant of one league, and one labor of land," situated in Fort Bend county. A bounty warrant for 320 acres, located in Polk county, was issued to him in 1853 for services in the army of Texas in 1836-37. Nothing further is known of him, the land having been patented to strangers.*

Velasco, on the Gulf of Mexico, south of Galveston, claims the first permanent settlement of Jews in Texas. Abraham C. Labatt, whose biography immediately follows, visited Texas in 1831. His business took him to Velasco, and he there found two Israelites, Jacob Henry and Jacob Lyons—the former from England and the latter from Charleston—engaged in mercantile pursuits. They had been there for some years. When Jacob Henry died—without issue, be it said—he left his fortune to the city of Velasco, for the purpose of building a hospital at that port.

Abraham Cohen Labatt was born in Charleston, South Carolina, in 1802. He was one of the forty-seven Israelites who, in 1825, organized the first reformed Jewish congregation in the United States. The movement aroused such intense opposition in the orthodox congregations of the world that, for the time being, it was abandoned. In later years reform met with better success. In 1831 Mr. Labatt removed to New Orleans and followed a merchant's calling.

* General Land Office, Austin.

He was one of the founders of the first Jewish congregation in Louisiana, as well as of the first firemen's charitable association in that state. In the same year he visited Texas, as stated above. In 1837, as supercargo of the steamship "Columbia"—the first merchantman that traded between the United States and the Republic of Texas—he brought to Galveston Mrs. General Bee and her son, now General Hamilton P. Bee of San Antonio. The vessel was subsequently bought from the owners, for the Texas trade, by a company of merchants.

In 1849 Mr. Labatt went to California and was a noted figure among the pioneers of that day. He was one of the founders of the San Francisco synagogue, the first Jewish congregation on the Pacific Coast; and when in 1856 a handsome brick edifice was erected, Mr. Labatt, by invitation, laid the foundation stone, and upon completion, participated in the dedication of the building. In 1849 he obtained a dispensation for the institution of a Masonic lodge—known as the David Crockett Lodge—the first regularly instituted in the state of California. Mr. Labatt, now in his 93d year, is in full possession of his mental faculties. He resides in Galveston and is the patriarch of five generations.

By this time Jews had located in Nacogdoches, in the eastern portion of Texas, and threw in their lot, for better or worse, with the country of their adoption.

Among them was Adolphus Sterne. The following biography is taken from "Sketches of the leading citizens of Eastern Texas," and its correctness is vouched by the son of Adolphus Sterne, still living.

"Hon. Adolphus Sterne, deceased.—This memorial sketch is written of a distinguished old Texan, a native of Germany, born in the city of Cologne, April 5th, 1801. He left his native place at the age of sixteen, running away to escape military service. He came to the United States, stopping first at New Orleans, where he remained in the city and locality until 1824, when he came to Texas. He was then

an adventurous, rollicking young fellow, full of fun, and delighting in the dangerous life which then prevailed in this state. He had been very well educated, and possessing a bright mind, he picked up a large fund of information, becoming especially proficient in the languages. He spoke French, German, Spanish, and English fluently, and after coming to Texas he learned various Indian dialects. These accomplishments rendered him a useful man to have around in those days, when the population of the country was divided between French, Spanish, English and Indians, with a pretty good scattering of Germans.

With the impulsiveness characteristic of his nature, Sterne joined the English settlers in their early struggles in this state against the Mexicans, and took part in the Fredonian war. He shared to some extent the fate of the other insurgents. The particular act for which he was called to account was the supplying of flint and powder, the implements of war in those days, to the insurgents. He was sentenced to be shot by Mexican authority, and pending the time between the date of sentence and execution (two weeks) he was chained in an old building in Nacogdoches. The staple to which he was chained remained in the old stone house for many years afterwards, and there are men now living who remember having seen it." Meanwhile an amnesty had been declared, and certain concessions had been made to the revolutionists, which led to a compromise.*

"After taking the oath of allegiance to the Mexican government he became a trusted employee, and was awarded the contract of furnishing clothing to the Mexican soldiers. Later he engaged in the mercantile business at Nacogdoches, where he continued for a long time, and there he was living when the fight known as the 'Nacogdoches Battle' took place, in August, 1832. The oath of allegiance he had taken prevented him from taking part against Mexico in that war, but his sympathies were all with the settlers, and he offered

* Texas History.

no objection to the use they chose to make of his premises or property.

Mr. Sterne became one of the public characters of eastern Texas, and his name was known even through the scattered settlements. He studied law, so that he could give legal counsel to those around him, and was Alcalde for a considerable time at Nacogdoches. He served as interpreter for the government and for the citizens, for years. After Texas won her independence he was called upon to serve in both upper and lower houses of Congress. He was an eminent Mason, a member of the first Grand Lodge of the Republic of Texas.

Mr. Sterne was married to Miss Rosine Ruff, a native of Eslinger, Würtemberg, Germany, who was born July 23d, 1810, and brought to this country when she was a child. She was reared in the family of a distinguished French gentleman, a Louisiana planter. The wedding took place June 2d, 1828, at Natchitoches, Louisiana. Mr. Sterne at once brought his wife to Nacogdoches, and this attractive lady is still living, hale and hearty, at the age of 82 years. She is a woman of superior intelligence, and an exceedingly beautiful old lady, retaining many of those graces of person which must have been of extreme attractiveness in youth. Her mind is as clear as ever and her memory wonderful, making her companionship delightful.

Adolphus Sterne was a genial companion and a universal favorite. He was full of life, had a fine sense of humor, and was a fluent talker. One of his ways of amusing his friends was that of imitating an auctioneer and of bidding off the articles at a public sale in English, German, French, Spanish, Mexican and Choctaw. Once while he was serving in the Legislature of the Republic, when the house had been bored with long-winded harangue over some inconsequential matters, he arose and delivered a very solemn address, of a few minutes length, in Choctaw. The effect, as may be imagined, awoke the sleepers and relieved the monotony, bringing the members back to business. He was the life of the lobbies,

the wayside taverns and stage-coach parties, and knew all the old-timers, many of whom were frequently his guests at his home. General Sam Houston made his home with the subject of this sketch, both before and after his marriage. Mrs. Sterne has a beautiful diamond ring presented to her by General Houston.

Mr. Sterne's death occurred March 27th, 1852, while on a visit to New Orleans. His remains were brought to Nacogdoches, where they were interred with Masonic honors. As stated, he was an eminent Mason, having become a member of the fraternity at the age of 21, in New Orleans. He had taken all of the degrees, even the thirty-second, of the Scottish rite. He left surviving him a widow and six children."

Dr. Joseph Hertz and his brother, Hyman Hertz, were born in Germany, and came to the United States in their early manhood, in the year 1832. Shortly after their arrival they moved to Nacogdoches, Dr. Hertz practicing his profession and his brother becoming a merchant. They both stood high in the community as men of integrity, and were considered the two most thoroughly educated men in the country. Hyman Hertz, while on a trip to New Orleans in 1833, by way of the Red river, lost his life by the burning of the steamer "Pioneer" on which he was traveling.

Dr. Hertz continued to practice medicine in and around Nacogdoches till 1835, often having to travel fifty and sixty miles to attend those who were at distant points trading with the Indians for pelts and hides. This caused his health to give way, and in 1835 he removed to Natchez, Miss. He lived some time in that town and then returned to Europe, where he subsequently died.*

Simon M. Schloss was born at Frankfort-on-the-Main in 1812, and came to Texas in 1836, settling at Nacogdoches. He was engaged in the real estate business, which he conducted for several years, afterwards moving to New Orleans. He

*Probate Court, Nacogdoches, Estate of Hyman Hertz.

was a bright, energetic man, and was favorably regarded in Texas.*

Davis S. Kauffman was born in Cumberland, Pennsylvania, and for some years resided at Natchez, Miss., where he studied law with General John A. Quitman, the governor of that state. About 1839 he removed to Nacogdoches, where he soon took first rank as a lawyer and orator. On the admission of Texas into the Union he became, at the first election, one of her Congressmen, which position he held till his death in 1851. He was wounded in the face at the battle of Neches, while serving as aide under General Douglas. Kauffman County, in Texas, is named in honor of him. He was the framer of what is known as "Kauffman's Good-Faith Law," a law by which compensation was secured to a settler for bona-fide improvements on land.†

Albert Emanuel was born in Arolsen, Prime Waldeck, in Germany, in the year 1808; his father's name was Joseph Emanuel, and his mother's, Adelaide Hart. In early life he assisted his father, who was Chief Ranger for the Prince of the country, but before he had reached his majority he left Europe for America, landing at New Orleans, from which point he made several trips to Mexico and Texas. In 1834 he moved permanently to Texas, settling at Nacogdoches and entering upon mercantile pursuits.

In his disposition he was enterprising and adventurous, and became the firm friend of Sam Houston, General Rusk, and other choice spirits of the time, imbibing their love of freedom and retaining their friendship till his death.

He acquired large estates of land in Texas, but when the tocsin of war sounded, was one of the first to volunteer in the Texas army, though defeat of the cause meant the loss of all he had accumulated. In the battle of San Jacinto he served in Captain Kimbo's company of cavalry in the second regiment of Texas volunteers. At the close of the

* Nacogdoches Records and Notarial Records of New Orleans.

† *Encyclopædia of the New West.*

war he returned to Nacogdoches, and shortly afterwards, June, 1836, married Miss Louisa C. Hart, of New Orleans. He continued as a merchant till 1840, when he removed to New Orleans permanently. He there became a lawyer, practising his profession till his death in 1851.*

Another Israelite—Kohn—a member of the Texas Spy Company—also fought at San Jacinto.†

Sam Maas, a native of Germany, settled in Nacogdoches, coming from New Orleans in January, 1836. After living there three years he moved to Galveston, where he still resides. For some years he was a merchant, after which he entered the real estate business. During one of his visits to Europe he married Isabella Offenbach, sister of the Offenbachs of musical fame.

Simon Weiss was born in Germany. He came to Texas about 1836, and engaged in business as a merchant, first at Nacogdoches, then in Southeastern Texas, at Weiss Bluff, on the Neches river, where he married. He died many years ago, leaving a family.‡

After the independence of Texas, Jews began settling in all portions of the republic. Simon and Jacob Mussina moved to Texas in 1836, their mother and sister coming to them the next year. Jacob engaged in mercantile pursuits in Galveston, remaining there some years; thence he removed to New Orleans, but returned to Texas and made his home at Austin, where he died in January, 1892, leaving one daughter and one son, Dr. D. Mussina.

Simon Mussina engaged in various callings, editing a paper, conducting a real estate business, and finally becoming interested in some heavy litigation, turned his attention to the law, becoming a member of the bar after his sixtieth year. He thenceforth conducted his litigation with unflag-

* Nacogdoches Records. Baker's History of Texas. Court Records of New Orleans.

† Baker's History of Texas.

‡ Nacogdoches Records.

ging energy and zeal, till his death ended his cause forever. He made and lost several fortunes, but, rich or poor, he never complained; he was always bright and cheerful in his social relationship; nothing could dampen his spirits or lessen his ardor in anything he undertook. When once asked if he did not regret having given away a piece of property that afterwards became worth a small fortune, he laughingly said that it had done the owners more good than it would probably have done him, and he did not know but that they would have done the same for him if he had needed it. He died in Galveston in 1889, beloved by all who knew him. Miss Mussina, his sister, married the Rev. Mr. Henderson, the first Presbyterian minister at Galveston.*

Edward J. Johnson was born in 1816, in Cincinnati, Ohio. He was a son of Mr. David Israel Johnson. The breaking out of the Texas revolution attracted great attention and elicited much sympathy for the revolutionists, in Cincinnati. Among others who sought service on the patriotic side was young Johnson. He volunteered in Capt. King's company, and was among those slain, March 27, 1836, at Goliad with Fannin, after the surrender to the Mexicans.

His parents are long since dead, but he has still surviving him a sister, Mrs. Selina Abrams, of Cincinnati, and two brothers, David I. Johnson, and Hon. Edgar M. Johnson, of New York, now a member of the firm of Hoadley, Lauterbach and Johnson.†

Three other Israelites fought under Fannin in the famous and tragic encounter at Goliad: Benjamin H. Mordecai, whose life was spared by the Mexicans, but who was subsequently killed by the Indians in 1840, M. K. Moses and Herman Ehrenberg, who escaped.‡

Capt. Levi Charles Harby was born in 1793, at Georgetown, S. C. He passed examination in June, 1812, as mid-

* Reports of the United States Supreme Court. Supreme Court of Texas. Encyclopædia of the New West.

† Baker's Scrap Book of Texas.

‡ Baker's Scrap Book of Texas. Brown's History of Texas.

shipman in the U. S. navy. While the war of 1812 was being fought he was eighteen months a prisoner in Dartmoor, England. During his incarceration a Jewish baker daily sold bread to the prisoners. One day a loaf was offered to Capt. Harby, which he refused to take; the baker, however, insisted. On breaking the bread, a newspaper was found telling of the battle of New Orleans. He eventually escaped from Dartmoor. In 1836 Harby resigned from the U. S. navy in order to bear arms with the Texans. He subsequently took part in the Mexican War, and also in the Seminole War of Florida. At the battle of Galveston (in the Civil War) he was commander of the "Neptune," and did good service for his cause, now a matter of general history. He died in Galveston, December 3, 1870, his last words being, "There is no God but Israel's God." Mrs. Lee C. Harby, of New York, is the daughter-in-law of the deceased captain.

Isidore Dyer was born in Dessau, Germany, in 1813. He came to America while young and resided in Baltimore, whence in 1840 he moved to Galveston. He engaged in mercantile pursuits till 1861, and after a successful business career he retired. He was, however, too valuable a citizen to be allowed to enjoy his well-earned repose. In 1866 he was elected to the presidency of the Union Marine and Fire Insurance Company of Galveston, which position he filled until the company retired from business in 1880, leaving behind a record of which any company might feel proud. He held high place in the Odd Fellows lodge, and his name was early among the past grand-masters. The first Jewish religious services in Galveston were held at Mr. Dyer's house in 1856, in a special room dedicated to that purpose. He was closely connected with every vital interest of the people, and when he died he was universally mourned. He left a widow and two sons. His death took place at Waukesha, Wisconsin, in the summer of

1888.* Extracts from his will relating to charitable bequests are to be found in the appendix to this paper. He was a brother of Leon Dyer and of Mrs. Rosanna Osterman, whose brief biographies immediately follow.

Colonel Leon Dyer, brother of the subject of the preceding sketch, was born in Dessau, Germany, October 9, 1807, and while young was brought by his parents to the United States, where they settled in Baltimore. He was self-educated, having to attend to his father's business when he should have been at college. Leon Dyer was very popular with the masses, and it was through his intervention that the Baltimore bread-riots were quelled. He was acting-mayor of that city during the time of the riots, and remained so until order was restored. He entered the U.S. army shortly afterwards. When Major McDade was massacred in Florida by Osceola, the Seminole chief, Leon Dyer was on General Scott's staff, ranking as major, and when General Scott was sent against Osceola, Major Dyer naturally accompanied him. *En passant*, it may be of interest to mention that in one of the regiments of this expedition, General Geo. B. McClellan served as lieutenant. During the Mexican War, Leon Dyer acted as quartermaster-general for General Scott. When, in 1836, Texas began to struggle for her freedom, Leon Dyer, although in business in New Orleans, was holding the position of Quartermaster-general of the State of Louisiana. When Texas called for aid, Dyer, with several hundred citizens of Louisiana, responded, attaching themselves to the forces commanded by General Thomas Jefferson Green, Leon Dyer being gazetted major. Green's army reached San Jacinto too late to participate in that memorable battle, but it performed honorable service in ridding Texas of the plundering Mexican troops that infested the republic. The commission attesting Leon Dyer major, signed by the first president of the Republic of Texas—Burnett—is in the hands of Dr. J. O. Dyer, of Galveston.

* Records of the city of Galveston. Encyclopædia of the New West.

Leon Dyer, by reason of his natural talents and patriotic tendencies, enjoyed the acquaintance of many great men in ante-bellum days. President Van Buren appointed him special envoy to Germany. He acted as guard of honor when Santa Anna was taken from Galveston to Washington. An autograph letter from Santa Anna to Leon Dyer, thanking him for courtesies, is in the possession of Col. Dyer's sister. He died in Louisville in 1883, aged 76, and his remains lie in Galveston. A widow and four children survive him.

It would be interesting to edit the life and history of the late Col. Leon Dyer, and incidentally to reproduce the autograph letters addressed to him by prominent men—a pleasurable task reserved for some future paper of the Jewish Historical Society. To whet the appetite of the lover of history, it may be mentioned that Leon Dyer's grandfather was commissary in Napoleon's army, and until the great fire in Frankfort, when all the family belongings were burnt, a genealogical tree existed tracing the family through the ages as far back as the Asmoneans, of whom the Maccabees were the representatives *par excellence*. But here history and legend are intermingled.

The lamented Mrs. Rosanna Osterman, widow of Joseph Osterman, who came to Texas during the Republic, and sister of the Dyer brothers, was a unique character in the records of womanhood. The unbounded charity and benevolence of this estimable woman has been the theme of many a Southern hearth. During the Civil War she nursed the soldiers through sickness and trial, and tended the wounded like a guardian angel. As a tribute to her goodness, Col. Hobby, stationed in Galveston at the time, wrote a poem telling of her virtues. The Osterman Building in Galveston is a monument of her bounty, for she bequeathed it to the poor; but a far greater monument is built in the hearts of those with whom she came in contact, and the many who have been her beneficiaries. Upon her death, in 1866, the bulk of her fortune went to charity, as will be seen in the appendix.

Michael Seeligson was a figure of some note in early Texas history. Together with his two sons, he worked for the annexation of the Republic of Texas to the United States. He came to Texas from Michigan in 1838, and was followed by his family in 1839. He was elected alderman of the city of Galveston in 1840 and 1848, and mayor of the city in 1853. He resigned his position a few months after his election. He was especially noted for his sagacity and kindness. He died in 1868, and left four sons, one of whom is the subject of the following sketch.*

Henry Seeligson was the son of Michael Seeligson and Adelaide Gottschalk, aunt of the great composer, and was born in Philadelphia in 1828. He came to Texas in 1839. He was elected first lieutenant of the Galveston Cadets when the Mexican invasion of Galveston was attempted, and although the corps was composed of young men from 15 to 18 years of age, it rendered efficient service. In the Mexican war of 1846 he enlisted in Capt. McLean's company, and subsequently volunteered as a member of Capt. Bell's regiment, which was soon ordered to join the command of General Taylor *en route* for Monterey. He bore so conspicuous a part in the battle that he was sent for by General Zachary Taylor and highly complimented, being offered the second lieutenancy in the second dragoons, which he declined. After this conflict he embarked in business. He was subsequently an active participator in a Mexican revolution under General José Maria Carabajal, who was defeated. At the outbreak of the Civil War he enlisted in the Southern army, joining a cavalry company commanded by Captain Woodward. He was in several engagements. It was his boast in his latter days that he had fought in three wars. He died in 1886.†

Eugene Joseph Chiméne settled in Houston in 1835, coming from New York. He fought at San Jacinto, and was

* Records of the City of Galveston.

† Encyclopædia of the New West.

one of Sam Houston's escort when the latter went to plan Austin City.*

Henry Wiener, another Houstonian, served in the Mexican war of 1846, and fought in the battle of Buena Vista.†

Moses Albert Levy served as surgeon-general in Sam Houston's army throughout the Texas-Mexican war. He was present at the storming of the Alamo by the Texans in December, 1835, serving at that time in the regiment commanded by Col. Frank W. Johnson. Col. Johnson's report of the capture of San Antonio, Dec. 5, 1835, states, "Doctors Levy and Pollard deserve my warmest praise for their unremitted attention and assiduity."‡

Upon the monument erected in Austin to the memory of the martyrs of the Alamo is engraved the name of A. Wolf.§

Dr. Isaac Lyons, of Charleston, served as surgeon-general under General Tom Green in the war of 1836, and upon his return to his native place, died at the residence of A. C. Labatt, whose biography is given above.

D. I. Kokernot, a native of Holland, came to Texas in 1830 and lived in Gonzales. He fought at Anahuac in the opening campaign of the Texas revolution, he was in the Grass fights of 1835, and also in active service in the war of 1836.||

There were other Jewish pioneers in Texas, but their records are meager.

Michael De Young, a French Jew, settled in San Augustine 1840-1850 and aided Texas during the Mexican war by furnishing volunteers with necessary equipment for the protection of the Republic. He came from the same family as the present De Youngs of San Francisco and Philadelphia.

Edward S. Solomons, of the firm of Solomons and Letchford, of San Augustine, came to Texas in 1837.¶

* Family records, name not on roster.

† Family records, name not on roster.

‡ Baker's Scrap Book of Texas.

§ Baker's Scrap Book of Texas.

|| Baker's Scrap Book of Texas. Brown's History of Texas.

¶ Records of San Augustine.

There are to-day many acres of land in Texas that were originally donated to David Moses and Michael De Young, for services rendered to the Republic. The heirs of the late Judah P. Benjamin and Albert Emanuel are also the possessors of real estate in Texas.*

After the Civil War, hundreds of co-religionists gradually settled in the cities and towns of the state, and to-day Texas has a large Jewish population. With a few congregational statistics, our paper is finished.

The first Jewish cemetery in Texas was established in Houston in 1844, and the Israelites of the same city built the first synagogue in Texas, exactly ten years later. Galveston followed with the establishment of the cemetery in 1852, and the organization of the congregation in 1868. Religious services, however, had been held since 1856. Other cities in the following order: San Antonio, cemetery 1854, congregation 1872. Religious services under the auspices of the Hebrew Benevolent Society had been held since 1856. Austin, cemetery 1866, congregation 1876; Waco, cemetery 1869, congregation 1881; Dallas, cemetery 1872, congregation 1876.

There are also cemeteries and organized benevolent institutions in twenty-six smaller towns, Tyler, Marshall, and Gainsville each possessing a synagogue.

APPENDIX.

EXTRACTS FROM WILL OF ISADORE DYER, PERTAINING TO CHARITABLE BEQUESTS.

Item 11. \$2000.00 in trust, interest and revenue to be applied to embellishing the two Hebrew cemeteries.

Item 12. In trust "Congregation B'nai Israel," Galveston, one-half of the residuum of my estate to be expended and applied to the enlargement and improvement of the present synagogue, and to afford increased pews and seating capacity

* Land Office Records, Austin.

for the poor Israelite families who are unable to purchase or rent same.

Item 13. Remaining one-half to "The Protestant Orphans Home of Galveston."

WILL OF ROSANNA OSTERMAN.—EXTRACTS PERTAINING TO
CHARITABLE BEQUESTS, ETC.

(Items 8, 13 and 19 refer to property bequeathed to family or friends, but upon their death, to the charitable institutions specified; hence the word "eventually" is used.)

Item 1. After my death, I desire that my executors cause my mortal remains to be interred in the Portuguese cemetery in the city of New Orleans, La., as soon as practicable after my decease, provided the remains of my late beloved husband have already been there deposited. If not, it is my earnest desire (if not in violation of our holy religion) that both of our remains be buried beside my dear departed brother, Abraham Dyer, in our family lot in the Portuguese cemetery in the city of New Orleans.

Item 8. The revenue from two brick buildings situated in the city of Galveston, to be eventually applied for the founding and defraying expenses of a "Widow's and Orphan's Home" in the city of Galveston, the "Home" to be undenominational, "for are not all men brothers before God?"

Item 13. The dividend declared upon fifty shares of Galveston City Wharf stock, to be eventually appropriated for the support of indigent Israelites, if any there be; if not, of any other denomination, residing in Galveston.

Item 19. The whole of the dividends on one thousand shares of Canal Company stock, to be eventually paid over to the officers of the Jewish Foster Home of Philadelphia, Penn.

Item 20. Five thousand (\$5000.00) dollars to be applied towards the building of a synagogue in the city of Galveston, State of Texas, on the following conditions, viz.: First, the building to be used for a synagogue must be built of brick;

secondly, that one third of the building must be up, and my executors satisfied that everything has been complied with, and duly organized like other religious congregations; upon satisfactory proof to my executors, they will pay principal and interest to the proper representatives of said congregation.

Item 21. Twenty-five hundred (\$2500.00) dollars, the same to be invested, the principal and interest to be applied toward the building of a synagogue in the city of Houston, State of Texas; the same evidence being given to my executors as those for the erection of a synagogue in Galveston, before any portion of the money I have set aside for the erection of the two synagogues be paid.

Item 22. Three thousand (\$3000.00) dollars for the benefit of the "Jewish Hospital" in the city of New York.

Item 23. Three thousand (\$3000.00) dollars for the benefit of the "Jewish Hospital" in the city of New Orleans, La.

Item 24. Three thousand (\$3000.00) dollars for the benefit of the "Jewish Hospital" in the city of Cincinnati, Ohio.

Item 25. One thousand (\$1000.00) dollars for the benefit of the "First Jewish Benevolent Society" that is or may be organized and incorporated in the city of Galveston, State of Texas.

Item 26. One thousand (\$1000.00) dollars to the "Galveston Sailors Home," whenever one is organized and is incorporated, as is customary in the seaport cities of the United States of America.

Item 27. One thousand (\$1000.00) dollars for the benefit of the "Galveston Howard Association."

Item 28. One thousand (\$1000.00) dollars for the benefit of the "Jewish Ladies Benevolent Society" of New Orleans, Louisiana.

Item 29. One thousand (\$1000.00) dollars to the "Hebrew Foreign Mission Society" of New Orleans, La.

Item 30. One thousand (\$1000.00) dollars for the benefit of the first "Jewish Benevolent Society" that is or may be

organized and incorporated in the city of Houston, State of Texas.

Item 31. One thousand (\$1000.00) dollars for the benefit of the "Hebrew Talmud Yelodim School" in the city of Cincinnati, Ohio.

Item 32. One thousand (\$1000.00) dollars for the benefit of the "Hebrew Educational Society" in the city of Philadelphia, Penn.

Item 33. One thousand (\$1000.00) dollars for the benefit of the "Talmud Torah School" attached to the Hebrew congregation "Shearith Israel" in the city of New York.

Item 34. One thousand (\$1000.00) dollars to the "North American Relief Society" for the indigent Jews of Jerusalem, Palestine, of the city and state of New York, Sir Moses Montifiore of London, their agent.

Item 35. One thousand (\$1000.00) dollars for the benefit of the "Hebrew Benevolent Association" of New Orleans, Louisiana.

Item 36. One thousand (\$1000.00) dollars to the "Ladies Benevolent Society" of Philadelphia, Penn., Miss R. Gratz, secretary.

Item 37. One thousand (\$1000.00) dollars for the purchase, embellishment, and keeping in repairs, of ground adjoining our present burial ground in the city of Galveston. The lot now used for the interment of Israelites being too small, and our dear friend the Rev. M. N. Nathan having consecrated said lot, I greatly prefer enlarging same to purchasing another.

Item 38. One thousand (\$1000.00) dollars, the interest thereof to be expended yearly for keeping in repair and embellishing our family lot in the Jewish Portuguese burial grounds belonging to the Hebrew congregation of the "Dispersed of Judah" of New Orleans, La.

Item 47. One thousand (\$1000.00) dollars for the founding of a "School Fund" for the education of poor Jewish children of Galveston and Houston, State of Texas.

All of these bequests were faithfully carried out by Isadore Dyer, her executor and residuary legatee, although he knew that some were void for uncertainty. On one occasion he was advised by a lawyer that the last bequest had lapsed and was his in law. His reply was, "I know that, but in this matter it is not to the law, but to my sister, that I am answerable, and the fund is intact for the purpose named by her." In 1887 he paid the balance of the fund and its accumulations to a properly organized corporation formed for the education of poor Jewish children in Galveston. He had previously paid a moiety to a Houston association of like nature.

AARON LEVY.

BY MRS. ISABELLA H. ROSENBACH AND ABRAHAM S. WOLF
ROSENBACH, *of Philadelphia.*

Among the names of taxables of the first assessment of which there is any record, in Northumberland county, Pennsylvania, are those of Andrew Levy and Aaron Levy. "While the year is not given, it bears satisfactory intrinsic evidence of having been taken before the close of the colonial period and prior to the year 1775."*

Aaron Levy, the son of Aaron Levy, was born in Amsterdam, Holland, in 1742, and came to America about 1760.

He speculated in lands to a great extent, and by Indian trading and furnishing supplies to the colony soon became a prominent merchant in the town of Northumberland. His residence was at Deer and Dewsberry streets. He was known as one of the pioneers of Northumberland county, and his name appears together with that of his great friend, Colonel Samuel Hunter, as a signer to a memorial of the inhabitants of Northumberland county to the State, asking help on account of the British and Indian ravages in the vicinity (1778). His name also appears as a shopkeeper in Lancaster, in the directory of 1780, compiled from the assessment roll of that year.† At this time he was a partner of Joseph Simon, and according to Markens, "Levy Andrew Levy's interest in Mr. Simon's business ceased in 1778, when he and Susanna, his wife, conveyed it to Aaron Levy, also a storekeeper in Lancaster, presumably a son."‡

In the Penna. Colonial Records for Monday, April 5, 1790, "the Comptroller and Register General's reports upon

* History of Northumberland Co. Herbert C. Bell.

† History of Lancaster Co. Ellis and Evans.

‡ He was not a son.

the following accounts were read and approved, viz.: Of Aaron Levy for supplies furnished to the said men under said resolution of Assembly, by order of the Justices of Northumberland Co., in December, 1775, amounting to forty-four pounds, twelve shillings and five pence, as settled by the Comptroller and Register General, according to the said act of Assembly."

Frequent mention is made of Mr. Levy in the Archives, in which are also copies of various letters to and from him. One dated Philadelphia, August 26, 1801, speaks of certain lands conveyed by him to the State, presumably during the Revolution. According to the Archives, he released at this time 12 tracts of land in Luzerne county, and it is probable the reference is made on account of Mr. Levy wanting them either paid for or returned to him. The land was part of the celebrated Connecticut claims.*

In June, 1779, Aaron Levy bought of a Mr. Wetzel a large tract of land in Centre county, known as the Alexander Grant warrantee. Upon this tract Aaron Levy laid out and planned the town of Aaronsburg, October 4, 1786, the earliest date of any town in the county. The town plan is recorded at Sunbury for that date.† It is without doubt the first town in this country named after a Jew of which there is any record.

In 1804 he conveyed all his interests in his large bodies of real estate in Centre county to Simon and Hyman Gratz, and after that, titles to lots were derived from the Gratzes.‡

The town progressed rapidly and was known throughout the counties for its wide streets and fine churches. The following is a copy of Aaron Levy's dedication of the land. Number of lots running from No. 1 to 612, 60 by 230 feet deep.

* Penna. State Archives, 2d Series, Vol. XVIII., pp. 347, 442.

† See map of original survey of Aaronsburgh. Resurveyed in 1801.

‡ History of Centre County. John Blair Linn.

AARON LEVY'S PLAN OF THE TOWN OF AARONSBURG.

“To all people to whom these presents shall come, I, Aaron Levy, of the town of Northumberland and county of Northumberland, in the State of Pennsylvania, merchant, send greeting.

Whereas, by force and virtue of sundry good conveyances and assurances in the law duly had and executed, I, the said Aaron Levy, became seized in fee simple of, in and to a certain tract or parcel of land, situate, lying and being in Potters township, in the county aforesaid, adjoining David Duncan, David Watts, Sheakspear and others, part of which said tract of land hath been laid out in small lots for a town by me Aaron Levy, and called in the general plan of the said town ‘Aaronsburgh,’ and in consequence thereto have laid out and lots of ground granted to sundry persons, adventurers of said town under certain reservations in their several conveyances mentioned (except what shall be hereafter excepted and reserved). Now, know ye that I, the said Aaron Levy, at the request of several adventurers of the said town, do hereby acknowledge, confess and declare that the several lanes, streets and alleys of the said town of Aaronsburgh called Aaron’s Square, Plume St., Wine St., North St., White Thorn St. (then West St.), Pine St., Rachel’s Way,* Chestnut St., East St., shall be hereafter forever open public roads or highways for all persons making use of the same, and that the several lanes and alleys of the said town, to wit:—Blackberry Alley, Cherry Alley, Strawberry Alley, Apple Tree Alley, Mulberry Alley, Gooseberry Alley, Walnut Alley, Spruce Alley, Union Alley and Liberty Alley,—shall likewise remain open and be for the use and benefit of the owners of lots of ground bounded on and adjoining the same, and I do further declare this plan of the said town of Aaronsburg to be an accurate plan, and that the several ways, streets, lanes and alleys therein delineated shall

* Named after his wife, Rachel.

be and remain firmly fixed to all intents, constructions and purposes whatsoever. But be it remembered, that the said Aaron Levy has excepted and reserved, and doth hereby except and reserve ninety feet in breadth, and from East St. to West St. in length in Aaron's Square of the said town, allowing at the said time thirty feet, fronting the buildings on each of said streets for public uses. But he, the said Aaron Levy, doth confess and declare for himself, his heirs or assigns, to surrender and deliver up the said ninety feet above reserved to the public as soon as he or his heirs shall see the said town of Aaronsburgh settling and improving, and that there is an absolute want of said ground so reserved for public uses and buildings. But the said Aaron Levy doth reserve of ninety feet in the centre of Aaron's Square as aforesaid described, shall not be obstructed by him, the said Aaron Levy, or his heirs or assigns, but shall remain free, clear and unobstructed for the public uses of the town of Aaronsburgh.

In testimony whereof, I, the said Aaron Levy, have hereunto set my hand and seal the fourth day of October, in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and eighty-six.

Sealed and delivered in the presence of

JOHN AURAND

CHRISTIAN GETTYS.

AARON LEVY. (Seal.)”¹

On November 16, 1789, Aaron Levy gave to Jacob Stover and Michael Motz, as trustees of the Salem Evangelical Church, lot No. 167 for the use of the members in communion with the church called Lutheran, for a school, church, and burial ground.

During the Revolutionary war he loaned a considerable sum of money to the Continental Congress, partly through Robert Morris, the financier of the Revolution. This money was never fully repaid. In the Journal of Continental Congress for March 29, 1781, a “report from the Board of Treasury on the letter of Aaron Levy was read ;

whereupon, Resolved, that until the loan offices of South Carolina and Georgia be fixed and public notice thereof given, agreeably to the Resolution of Congress of the 3d of August last, the Treasurer of the United States be empowered to issue loan office certificates in discharge of interest that is or shall be due on loan office certificates issued from either of the loan offices aforesaid, in the same manner and upon the same principle as certificates for interest are issued from other loan offices." Owing to the fact that most of Mr. Levy's papers (land and loan office certificates, etc.), have been destroyed, it is impossible to find the exact amount loaned to the government. Besides furnishing supplies to the regular army during the war, through his connection with John Nicholson, he had large private business transactions with him and his partner Robert Morris.

The following account was open on the books of Robert Morris at the time of his bankruptcy: "Aaron Levy. Although a considerable sum stands at the debit of this account, yet he is entitled to credits that will bring a balance in his favor, exclusive of Bonds and Notes which he holds."

The founder of Aaronsburg continued his speculations and was known as one of the largest land proprietors in Pennsylvania, owning immense tracts in nearly every county in the State. Aaron Levy was one of the original members of the K. K. Mickvé Israel, and after he removed to Philadelphia* was a regular attendant at the meetings of the congregation. He died without issue. To his brother's descendants born in Philadelphia he gave during his life large tracts in Centre and adjoining counties. His great-grand niece, Sarah Polock, in 1839 gave from her tract a site for a schoolhouse. In his early career he became acquainted with the Gratz and Etting families, to whom he became much attached, this friendship continuing through life. His will, dated June 1, 1802, bequeaths various legacies of silver, etc., to each

* 1782.

member of the Gratz family, to Miss Fanny Etting and Miss Richea Hays, and constitutes his adopted son, Simon Gratz, his residuary legatee. He died February 23, 1815, and was buried the following day from his residence, Fifth below Race street, Philadelphia. His wife, Rachel, died December 23, 1810, and was buried in the Spruce Street burying-ground.

The following error occurs in the History of Northumberland County, by Herbert C. Bell: "Daniel Levy was admitted to the bar, May term, 1791. He was the son of Aaron Levy, founder of Aaronsburg, Centre Co., Pennsylvania, and a great land speculator. It is probable that the care of his father's estate received a large share of his personal attention," etc. He was Prothonotary of Northumberland Co. from 1800 to 1809. He died in Sunbury, 1844. He was probably a Jew.

WILL OF AARON LEVY.

"In the name of the God of Israel, Amen. I Aaron Levy of the City of Philadelphia Gentleman, being of sound mind memory and understanding have thought fit to make, and hereby do make my last will and testament in manner following and which I hereby declare is done without any bias, or through any persuasion of any person, whatsoever and with the full consent of my beloved wife Rachel to wit. First I give and bequeath unto my respected friend, Charles Hale Esquire of Sunbury my walking cane with agate head and my silver snuff box which I promised to leave him.

Item—I give & bequeath unto said wife the use of all my household goods and kitchen furniture of every description, all my plate, Beds, Bedding, linens and woollens and all things purchased for family use to hold to her for and during all the time of her natural life. Moreover, I give unto her, my said wife an annuity or yearly sum of \$900.00 in four like and equal amounts of \$225. each, in each and every year

during term of her natural life, the 1st payment to be made three months after the day of my decease, and to be paid to her by my adopted son Simon Gratz of the City of Philadelphia, merchant and to be charged and payable on my Estate as herein after mentioned.—Item From and immediately after the decease of my wife I give to my said adopted son Simon Gratz my silver coffee pot and large Inkard, to his brother Hyman Gratz my silver tureen and silver waiter and my timepiece. To Fanny Etting my silver tea pot & caddy. To Joseph Gratz my mahogany bookcase my capt and jewelled watch and two silver half pint tankards. To Jacob Gratz all my English books except prayer books. To Benjamin Gratz all my Hebrew and English Prayer Books. To Sarah Gratz my silver sauce bowls and my silver slop bowl. To Rebecca Gratz my gilt & silver oval sugar bowl with lid and gilt & silver bowl without lid. To Rachel Gratz my silver sugar bowl with pineapple, cream jug and soup ladle. To Richea Hays my silver fruit basket, and to the said Simon Gratz, my miniature and the miniature of my wife, if she my said wife should not otherwise dispose of said miniatures. Item—I give devise and bequeath unto my said adopted son Simon Gratz all my messuages, lots of ground, lands, tenements, Hereditaments and Real Estate whatsoever, and wheresoever the same may situate and also all the rest, residue and remnant of my monies, goods and chattels, Rights or Credits and personal estate whatsoever, to hold to him the said Simon Gratz his heirs, executors administrators and assigns forever subject nevertheless to payment of \$900. yearly to my wife etc. I do hereby nominate and appoint my friend Frederick Bates Executor of this my last will and testament, etc etc.

My hand & seal 28th day of June 1802.

AARON LEVY (Seal)

Andrew Leinau, Abraham Stein, Philip J. Dunn."

Admitted to probate March 1st, 1815.

DOCUMENTS FROM THE PUBLIC RECORD OFFICE (LONDON).

BY DR. CHARLES GROSS, *Assistant Professor of History, Harvard
University, Cambridge, Mass.*

I.

MEMORIAL OF THE JEWS ABOUT THEIR TAXES, PRESENTED TO SIR WILLIAM BEESTON, GOVERNOR-IN-CHIEF OF THE ISLAND OF JAMAICA.

[Entry Book, Jamaica, 57, ff. 80-84. Date of Entry, July 24th, 1700.]

“Your Excellency has been pleased to give us a copy of the petition that the Baron de Belmont did present to his Majesty in behalf of the Jewish nation inhabiting in this Island, and at the same time your Excellency was pleased to demand of us the reasons, and what just cause we had to make our applications to obtain his Majesty’s favour and protection. We have often made our applications humbly petitioning your Excellency and the assemblies praying that we may not be particularised in any taxation by ourselves, but only as the rest of the inhabitants our neighbors were rated, but we have never been so happy with our petitions to take any effect, on the contrary your Excellency will please to remember that by four successive assemblies we have been taxed as appears.

The first assembly that was after the general calamity of the earthquake was for £750.

The second tax was for one thousand pounds, both which are as appears by the printed acts of Jamaica (folio 8, 66) which makes one thousand seven hundred and fifty pounds

over and above, besides paying equally with all the inhabitants of this island as more at large appears in the said acts.

The third assembly having understood that it was not well taken in England, that the Jews should be taxed two several ways as was expressed in the last assembly, over and above and besides for which reason we humbly presume that we were taxed at a lump, £1750 and according to a true calculation made of ours, if paying as the rest of our neighbours at that time, which was upon houses, negroes, cattle and trade, did not amount to above £350, so that we were over taxed £1400.

The fourth assembly taxed us at a lump £437.10s, which is at least $\frac{3}{4}$ over and above our just due if we had been so happy to be treated as the rest of inhabitants of this island, which is above £300 extraordinary, so that summing up all the four taxes amounts to this poor nation (who not surpassing eighty persons including married men, batchelors widows and the poor maintained upon charity) amounts to £3450 over and above, and besides paying as the rest of the inhabitants. Notwithstanding always from the first design that these assemblies did commence with these taxations, we constantly made our humble application to your Excellency and the Assembly with our patents of denization and naturalization, by virtue of which we become as natural born subjects and hoped to enjoy the same freedom and privileges without any particularization whatever.

At the meeting of the first of the four last Assemblies they to two of the Jews with threats obliged them to nominate twelve persons of the Jews to be the assessors of the Jewish nation which out of fear they gave in their names without the knowledge, intent or desire of the Jewish nation.

In the fifth Assembly they intended to tax us £5250 but being dissolved we were so happy that this tax took no effect, otherwise this would have concluded the utter ruin and destruction of all our poor nation.

And as to our being forced to bear arms on our Sabbath and holy days as in late years has been by command of some particular officers, without any necessity or urgent occasion (which is quite contrary to our religion unless in case of necessity where an enemy is in sight or apprehension of being near us) on which we have always been ready, all which have been the motives and reason that we made our application to his Majesty, humbly praying relief and protection to our just grievances and that we may enjoy the privileges as by the favour of our Letters Patents and Denization doth allow us, which indeed was sufficient when any infringement was designing against us, except the four last acts.

Now looking upon your Excellency the only protector and recourse we have in this Island under the happy government of his most excellent Majesty, we humbly pray your Excellency will please to represent our hard fate that we have laboured under, that for the future we may be so happy to find your Excellency's clemency towards who as in all duty are bound to pray, etc."

II.

THE GOVERNOR AND COUNCIL'S ANSWER TO THE BARON DE BELMONT.

[Ibid. ff. 84 to 88.]

"Upon receipt from your Lordships of the copy of the Memorial presented to his Majesty in behalf of the Jews of this Island by the Baron de Belmont, I sent to some of the chiefest of that nation and shewed them the said memorial and bid them put into writing the reasons they had to make such applications to his Majesty by the said Baron de Belmont, which they have done and I now transmit it to your Lordships.

What they say about being so taxed by the Assemblies they mention is truth, and had the act gone forward in the

last Assembly for making Reparation to the Sufferers in the late War, it would have amounted to such a sum that their part therein mentioned would not have been extravagant.

But to trace all from the original ; their first introduction into this Island was upon condition that they should settle and plant, which they do not, there being but one considerable and two or three small settlements of the Jews in all the island. But their employment is generally keeping of shops and merchandize, by the first of which they have engrossed that employment and by their parsimonious living (which I do not charge as a fault in them) they have thereby means of underselling the English, that they cannot many of them follow that employment nor can they in reason put their children to the Jews to be trained up in that profession, by which the English nation think they suffer much both in their own advantages, and what may be made to their children hereafter.

And it is well known that in time past, the Jews made it their request that they might on any occasion be taxed by the lump, and the reason they gave and which was obvious to and prevalent on the English, was because they being a people distinct from the English knew one another's circumstances and abilities better than the English could, and therefore the more likely to do right to one another as well as to take off the jealousy of partiality, had they been particularly taxed in the parishes where they dwelt as the English are, but of late they have desired otherwise because they fall out in their taxing one another. For these reasons the Assemblies have always when public money was to be raised thought it but reasonable that they the Jews, who in the opinion of the Assembly eat out the English in trade and get it very much into their own hands, and thereby the profits and advantages that might be made by the retailing trade to the English nation, have thought it but just that they should pay something in proportion more than the English, and what they propose in those cases of money is not to be contradicted by the governor and council, lest thereby the whole bill may fall.

As for their bearing arms, it must be owned that when any public occasion has happened or an enemy appeared they have been ready and behaved themselves very well; but for their being called into arms on private times and that have happened upon their sabbath or festivals, they have been generally excused by their officers unless by their obstinacy or ill language they have provoked them to the contrary, the law of this country without regard to the Jews or any other, giving power to the officers to call all men to arms when there is thought occasion for it.

It is likewise too plain that the meaner sort of that nation buy anything from our negroes by which they encourage them to steal from their masters, or any else, that they may sell it to the Jews to make money to buy drink or to play with one another. By which many evils happen both to the negroes and their owners, and altho' this has been endeavoured to be hindered, yet a way could never be found to prevent it, this trade being driven on most at night or Sundays when people are at church and hereby the ignorance of the negroes gives advantage to the Jews to buy anything of them for very small value and much under its real worth which the sooner sets them on to stealing more.

To which may also be added, that they are not at the trouble and charges of any civil and military offices (which are great here there being no pay or allowance for them) except to a constable sometimes, where the poundage money for the taxes pay their expence of time. Nor are their taxes considering the great stocks they have in trade more in proportion than a poor planter's that in debt and labours hard to clear himself, besides they are entered much into the wholesale trade and many English merchants consign their goods to the Jews here which is a great discouragement to the English factors.

This is the truth of the present state of the nation of the Jews here, where if any taxes be laid upon them, which they do not like, it's for the consideration aforesaid and by the

Assemblies, who often resent it. Nor is it in the power of the governor and council to contradict them in raising of money which they will do as they please or not at all, tho' never so great occasion or necessity for it.

By his Excellency's command,

THO. NICHOLLS, *Clerk of the Council.*"

III.

JEWS IN JAMAICA.

[Board of Trade Journal, Vol. 16, fol. 5. Cf. also ff. 14 and 24.]

"At Meeting of Board of Trade March 3 170 $\frac{2}{3}$.

Mr. Lereira laid before the Board a Petition presented to Her Majesty by Antonio Gomes Serra, Andrew Lopez and Moses de Medina in behalf of the Jews inhabiting in Jamaica. With the Signification of Her Majesty's Pleasure thereupon by Mr. Secretary Hedges, that the same be referred to the Consideration of the Board. And he further desiring a Copy of the Memorial presented by the Jews at Jamaica to the Governor and Council, there relating to their Taxes with the Answer of said Governor and Council thereunto in the year 1700."

[Entered Jamaica B, folio 80, etc.]

MEMOIR OF JOHN MOSS.

BY LUCIEN MOSS, *Philadelphia.*

John Moss, who was one of the early merchants of Philadelphia, was born in London in 1771, and came to America when a mere boy, quite poor, but industrious and full of energy.

He was an engraver on glass, and had his shop at what was then 56 Arch street. A piece of his work, now in the possession of the writer, and executed in 1788 for Moses Simon, of Richmond, Va., bears testimony to the skill he had attained in his calling when less than eighteen years of age. The demand for his work, however, was limited, and seeking a more remunerative business he turned to the dry goods trade, which he began in a small way, and in 1807 opened a shop at 89 High street, now Market street, where he continued until 1814, when he removed his extended business to 37 Dock street, and thence in 1818 to 77 S. Front street.

He somewhat later entered into the shipping business, having his counting-house in Front street until 1829. His fleet consisted of four large vessels of about 800 tons, called respectively "Brilliant," "Tontine," "Hetty" and "Moss Rose." These were engaged in the Liverpool trade, and were all provided with elegant cabin accommodations for passengers.

In 1814 he established his dwelling in the old-fashioned double house, No. 189 Spruce street, where he surrounded himself and his family, consisting of wife, four sons and four daughters, with every reasonable comfort. His huge fireplace with its colossal andirons and glorious wood fire is a lasting tradition.

On the pavement in front of this house was dumped the first Lykens Valley coal put to domestic use in Philadelphia. With this fact is preserved a tradition that it was the expressed opinion of some of Mr. Moss's fellow-citizens "that John Moss had gone crazy, dumping black stones to burn." For burning the coal he had a basket grate constructed and placed in the chimney breast, but the draught proving inadequate, he built the chimney ten feet higher, undisturbed by the ridicule of those who said "he was erecting a steeple to the sky."

He was the first to ship abroad a load of Pennsylvania anthracite. It would be interesting to know what became of this first cargo of coal, what price it brought and whether it repaid its cost, but of these facts we are not informed. We are only told that the return cargo of bandanna handkerchiefs was highly remunerative.

After retiring from active business, which he did in 1823, Mr. Moss took an increased interest in the affairs of the city. He served in the City Councils as a member from old Cedar ward, and in that capacity walked arm-in-arm with Peter Fritz to attend the funeral of Stephen Girard in December, 1831.

Amongst his gifts to his fellow-citizens may be enumerated the piece of statuary by Rush, a female figure supporting a swan, which still adorns a rock opposite the forebay at Fairmount Park. The lions, which were originally placed on either side of the entrance to the Merchants Exchange, were also his gift.

His readiness to embark in enterprises for the good of the city kept him always in the van, and occasionally ahead of his time, as when, with the desire to supply Philadelphia with suitable hotel accommodation, he with others, on June 16th, 1836, purchased for \$220,000 the old prison and lot on the southeast corner of Sixth and Walnut streets. Circumstances seem not to have been propitious and the project was abandoned, the lots being otherwise disposed of

without attempting the actual construction of the magnificent hotel which was to have graced that corner.

Mr. Moss was a trustee of the congregation Mikvé Israel, and laid the corner-stone of the synagogue on the north side of Cherry street above Third street, which, in 1824, replaced the original structure on the same site.

He served for several years as a member of the board of managers of the Lehigh Coal and Navigation Company at the very outstart of that great enterprise. He was also for several years a member of the board of directors of the Harrisburg, Portsmouth, Mount Joy and Lancaster Railroad Company, whose road now forms a portion of the main line of the Pennsylvania Railroad Company. He was for nearly twenty-five years a director of the Pennsylvania Company for Insurance on Lives and Granting Annuities, the oldest institution of its kind in the United States.

He was a member in good standing of Washington Lodge of Free and Accepted Masons of New York, his certificate from which bears date A. L. 5805, corresponding with A. D. 1805.

Mr. Moss was elected a member of the Hibernian Society in 1833, and is said to have been the only Englishman ever made an Irishman by this society. This somewhat extraordinary adoption of Mr. Moss was explained to the writer by Judge Strong as due to the following incident:

Mr. Moss returning home one day from his accustomed drive, noticed an unusual crowd and stopped his coach to ascertain the cause. He found an unfortunate Irish laborer whose arm had been broken by a falling derrick, and about whom was gathered a throng of curious yet sympathizing spectators. John Moss took in the situation and the exigency of the case at once, and exclaimed, "I pity him fifty dollars for surgical aid." This prompt and generous act of sympathy and benevolence seemed to touch the warm Irish hearts and was never forgotten by the Hibernian Society.

John Moss died April 5th, 1847, and was buried in the old Jewish burial ground on Spruce street below Ninth street.

He was throughout his life an ardent supporter of the Democratic party and its principles, and greatly admired President Andrew Jackson, whom he upheld in his efforts against the United States Bank. He was also on terms of close personal intimacy with Governor Francis R. Shunk, whom he highly esteemed. His standing in the community in which he had lived and labored throughout nearly the whole of his long life of seventy-six years was well attested by the large concourse of his fellow-citizens who attended his obsequies.

NOTES.

A CORRECTION.

I desire to make the following correction to my article on the "Mickvé Israel Congregation of Philadelphia," which appeared in the Publications No. 1 of this Society.

On page 18 I wrote: "At a meeting of the Trustees held on Sunday the seventeenth of September, 1782, Mr. Jonas Phillips, who occupied the chair, stated that he was informed by Mr. Mordecai M. Mordecai how Ezekiel Levy, contrary to our laws, had shaved on a Sabbath at Baltimore." As the consecration of the synagogue had taken place on the previous Friday—September the 13th, 1782—the following Sunday must have been the 15th and not the 17th.

On page 22 I wrote that Major Mordecai had addressed a letter to the late Mr. Abraham Hart inquiring "into the terms of the resolution passed in September, 1813, by the congregation, granting a special part of the Spruce street ground to the Gratz family." I then remarked, "But no resolution of that character can be found." Subsequent researches have succeeded in discovering the resolution. It is worded as follows: "At a meeting presided over by Samuel Hays, Elul 18th, 5573—September 12th, 1813—on motion it was resolved that the strip of ground in which Mr. and Mrs. Gratz are interred, be continued to the depth of sixty feet, from the commencement of the tombstone of Mr. Gratz now erected, and reserved for the exclusive burial of members of that family, who may be entitled to funeral rites, agreeably to our laws."

S. MORAIS.

THE EXACT DATE OF THE TRIAL OF JACOB LUMBROZO
FOR BLASPHEMY.

Mr. J. H. Hollander, in his instructive and scholarly article on Dr. Jacob Lumbrozo, says that "Lumbrozo was tried and remanded upon the charge of blasphemy on February 23, 1658." (Publications of the A. J. H. S., No. 1, p. 28.) But is this date correct? According to another historian, who also gleaned his material from original sources, viz. from the provincial records at the capital of Maryland and from other documents of the provincial period, the trial must have taken place somewhat later. The historian we mean is E. D. Neill. In his book, "The Founders of Maryland," Albany, 1876, we read on page 132 the following:

"Josiah Cole—a preacher of the Society of Friends—travelling in company with Jacob Lumbrozo, the Jew doctor, in July, 1658, asked 'whether the Jews did look for a Messiah?' Lumbrozo answered, 'Yes.' Then Cole asked 'who he was that was crucified at Jerusalem?' The Jew replied, 'He was a man.' Then the Quaker asked: 'How did he do all his miracles?' And the answer was, 'He did them by the art magic.' Cole continued: 'How did his disciples do the same miracles after he was crucified?' The doctor replied, 'He taught them his art.' Some months after Cole and Thursdon were banished, Lumbrozo was arraigned for blasphemy, when he stated to the court that he 'said not anything scoffing, or in derogation of him Christians acknowledge for their Messiah,' but merely declared his belief as a Jew."

B. FELSENTHAL.

The precise date of the trial of Dr. Jacob Lumbrozo for blasphemy is one of the few events in the life of this interesting personage which can be located with absolute certainty. The original record of the trial, preserved in a MS. volume of the records of the Provincial Court of Maryland, now in the custody of the Maryland Historical Society in Baltimore, declares that: "Att a Provincial Court held att St. Mary's

on Wednesday, this 23rd February 1658 Was called before the Board, Jacob Lumbrozo and charged by his Lordship Attorney for uttering words of blasphemy against our blessed Saviour Jesus Christ."

In the paper to which Dr. Felsenthal has referred, the statement on page 28 that "Lumbrozo was tried and remanded upon the charge of blasphemy on February 23, 1658," was followed by an exact reference to this original record, as follows, "Records of the Provincial Court 1658-1662, (MS) folio 159-160." It was deemed unnecessary to append the full record of the trial, in view of the fact stated on page 26, that "As early as 1855, Mr. George Lachlyn Davis, in his 'Day Star of American Freedom,' cited and commented upon the trial for blasphemy." Davis's work can be found in any fairly good collection of Americana. For convenience of verification or citation, the exact reference to the "Day Star" was, however, inserted on page 34 among other references to the printed sources of Lumbrozo's life, as follows: "Trial for Blasphemy, Davis's Day Star of American Freedom, pp. 66, 67." Neill is properly described rather as an historical essayist than an historian of Maryland. In this connection he has simply given a garbled version of Davis's citation.

J. H. HOLLANDER.

JONAS PHILLIPS.

In connection with Dr. Herbert Friedenwald's paper on Jonas Phillips's petition to the Constitutional Convention of 1787, relative to religious liberty, it is interesting to note that a reference to a similar matter was contained in a German article prepared for "The Reformer and Jewish Times" of August 22, 1879, from data furnished by the late Judge Joachimsen. That article contained the following passage:

"In connection with this circumstance, I wish to remark that it was due to Jonas Phillips that the article on religious

liberty as contained in the New York Constitution of 1777, was made a part of the Constitution of the United States in 1789 by Congress." No authority is cited for the statement. Whether the writer had in mind the petition of Jonas Phillips to which Mr. Friedenwald calls attention, is not clear, though it is closely akin to the latter. Of course the statement itself is very much exaggerated, for there were many influences at work—probably more effective than his—in securing the adoption of the religious liberty clauses of our federal constitution. It should be noticed, however, that Judge Joachimsen assigns the date 1789 to the incident, while the Constitutional Convention met two years before; also that he refers to the adoption by Congress, not by the Convention. The provision in the New York Constitution referred to is Article XXXVIII, and reads as follows: "And whereas, We are required by the benevolent principles of rational liberty, not only to expel civil tyranny, but also to guard against that spiritual oppression and intolerance wherewith the bigotry and ambition of weak and wicked priests and princes have scourged mankind, this convention doth further, in the name and by the authority of the good people of this state, ordain, determine and declare, that the free exercise and enjoyment of religious profession and worship, without discrimination or preference, shall forever hereafter be allowed within this state to all mankind: Provided, that the liberty of conscience hereby granted shall not be so construed as to excuse acts of licentiousness, or justify practices inconsistent with the peace or safety of this state." In the U. S. Constitution, as originally adopted, Article VI contained the clause, "but no religious test shall ever be required as a qualification to any office or public trust under the United States." As this appeared insufficient to many states and elements, Congress drafted the part of the First Amendment which reads, "Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof," which was adopted by the States. But this provision, thus worded,

was passed by Congress in 1789. Whether Jonas Phillips continued to be active in agitating the question and was in fact instrumental in securing the adoption of the latter provision, our present data do not show, for there seem to be no authorities for the statement in the form in which it is found in Judge Joachimsen's article. M. J. KOHLER.

As Jonas Phillips is referred to at some length in several papers read at the last meeting of the Society, the following extracts from contemporary newspapers will serve to give some idea of his commercial standing in Philadelphia. The *Pennsylvania Evening Post* of February 7, 1778, contained the following advertisement, inserted by a dealer who adopted this remarkable way of informing the public of the locality of her business :

"Hannah Pyle, at her house next door but one below Jonas Philips's near the mainguard in Market street, has for sale fine Hyson & Souchong Tea, and a few kegs of the best Rose Butter."

But Jonas Phillips himself seems to have been a strong believer in the efficacy of advertising, to judge from the constancy and large size of his advertisements. The following advertisement, taken from the "*Pennsylvania Evening Post*" of March 6th of the same year, will illustrate this in part, besides giving an idea of the business methods in vogue at that date :

"*DRY GOODS* to be sold, half for hard money, and half for *Lawful Paper Currency*, wholesale and retail, by JONAS PHILLIPS, the fourth side of Market street, between Front and Second streets, five doors below the guardhouse, consisting of the following articles, viz. broadcloths, Bath coatings, duffels, fine and strong shoes and stockings, check and white shirts, Irish linens, oznaburgs, bohea tea, pearl barley, best Florence oil in quart bottles, cloves and cinnamon, English bacon in sides by the box, best indigo and sundry other goods. Likewise the best of gunpowder tea of the first

quality, two desks and book cases, twisted chairs, two arm dittoes, a washing stand, a ladies dressing and writing table, all of the best mahogany, and a bedstead with green silk curtains, will be sold at private sale, exceeding cheap for ready money."

M. J. KOHLER.

GIFTS TO THE MICKVÉ ISRAEL CONGREGATION.

In looking over the archives of the K. K. Mickvé Israel, I came across a paper dated April 30, 1788. It is a plea to the inhabitants of Philadelphia for assistance (the congregation being in financial difficulties), and the donors, according to the document, will go "down to posterity." In response to the call many of the prominent citizens of Philadelphia answered, and it is their signatures, the original autographs, which make it a most interesting and valuable specimen of Americana. Only the names of the non-Jewish residents are enrolled; Benjamin Franklin's autograph appearing at the head of the paper with his donation, £5. The following are a few of the most prominent names appended:

Chas. Biddle, £3; William Rush, £1 10s.; Thomas Lea, 15s.; M. Nicholson, £5; B. Muhlenberg, £3; Benjamin Franklin, £5; Richard Fullerton, £3; William Bradford, £3; David Rittenhouse, £2; J. Baird, £1 10s.; J. Cowperwait, £2 10s.; Thomas Barlow, 30s.; and Hiliary Baker, £2 6s.

ABRAHAM S. WOLF ROSENBACH.

JEWISH SOLDIERS IN THE COLONIAL PERIOD.

In the edition of Washington's journal of the expedition across the Alleghany mountains in 1754, edited by Dr. J. W. Toner, Albany, 1893, there appear the names of two soldiers who were possibly Jews.

In the "List of Captain van Braam's Company, July 9th, 1754," we find "on command" Michael Franks (p. 177). In

the pay-roll of the Virginia regiment there is given the name of Michael Franks who served in the capacity of "Private Cent'l," his compensation being £2 8*d* (p. 194), and he is also recorded (p. 203) in the "List of Captain van Braam's Company who have received His Excellency's bounty money," this bounty money being the one pistole granted by the House of Burgesses to every private who was present in the engagement at the Great Meadows.

Jacob Myer was among those reported as "fit for duty" in the "true return of Captain Mercer's Company, given in at Will's Creek, July 9, 1754" (p. 179), and he also was present in the engagement, being in the list (p. 205) of those receiving the bounty money.

CYRUS ADLER.

NECROLOGY.

The Society lost by death during the past year one member and one collaborator.

Mr. Isaac Minis of Savannah, Ga., died on Thursday, June 18, 1893, in his 36th year. Mr. Minis was a native of Savannah, descended of a family which settled in that place in 1733. He was a member of the well-known firm of A. Minis & Sons, a director of the Cotton Exchange and Cotton Press Association, of the Oglethorpe Club, and exempt member of the Georgia Hussars.

Col. Chas. C. Jones, LL. D., was born in Savannah, Ga., October 28, 1831, and died in Augusta, Ga., July 19, 1893. He received the degree of B. A. from Princeton in 1852 and LL. B. from Harvard in 1855. He then practised law in Savannah, and in 1860 was elected mayor of that place. He served in the Confederate Army throughout the Civil War and in 1865 removed to New York, where he practised law until 1877. In that year he returned to Augusta and

devoted himself to studies in history and American archæology. In the latter field he obtained an international reputation. His publications reached eighty titles, of which fourteen were books, ten pamphlets, twenty-nine addresses, five works edited and translated, and twenty-two magazine articles. He contributed a paper on "The Settlement of the Jews in Georgia" to No. 1 of the Publications of this Society.

GIFTS TO THE SOCIETY.

MR. MENDES COHEN.—Sketch of proceedings in the Legislature of Maryland, December session, 1818, on what is commonly called the Jew Bill, containing the report of the committee appointed by the House of Delegates "To consider the justice and expediency of extending to those persons professing the Jewish Religion, the same privileges that are enjoyed by Christians," together with the bill reported by the committee, and the speeches of Thomas Kennedy, Esq., of Washington county, and H. M. Breckenridge, Esq., of Baltimore city. Baltimore, 1819.

— Speech of Thomas Kennedy, Esq., in the Legislature of Maryland, on the bill respecting Civil Rights and Religious Privileges. Annapolis, 1823.

— Governor Worthington's speech on the Maryland Test Act, 1824. Baltimore, 1824.

— Memorial to the General Assembly of Maryland.

PROF. MORRIS JASTROW, JR.—A draft dated Philadelphia, July 5, 1762, containing the autograph of David Franks. (This MS. was presented to Prof. Jastrow by Mr. Jno. W. Jordan, of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania.)

MR. JOHN W. JORDAN.—MS. account of David Franks with Joseph Simon, dated Lancaster, November 6, 1777. (Through Dr. Herbert Friedenwald.)

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| <p>Wright, Capt. Benjamin, 126 f.
 Wünsche referred to, 103.</p> <p>Yllan, Jan de, 95. •</p> <p>Young Adrian, vessel, 81.</p> | <p>Young Catherine, vessel, 81.</p> <p><i>Zekher Zaddikim li-Bhrakhah</i>, 30.</p> <p>Ziegler, 24.</p> <p>Zion Congregation of Chicago, 26.</p> |
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CONSTITUTION.

NAME.

I. The name of this Society shall be the "American Jewish Historical Society."

OBJECTS.

II. Its object shall be the collection, preservation and publication of material having reference to the settlement and history of the Jews on the American Continent.

MEMBERS.

III. Any person approved by the Executive Council may become a member by paying five dollars ; and after the first year may continue a member by paying an annual fee of five dollars.

On payment of one hundred dollars, any person may become a life member exempt from fees.

Persons may be elected as honorary members, and be exempt from the payment of fees ; but no honorary member shall be elected except by the unanimous vote of the Executive Council.

Persons approved by the Council may be elected as corresponding members, and be exempt from the payment of fees.

OFFICERS.

IV. The officers shall be a President, three Vice-Presidents, a Corresponding Secretary, a Recording Secretary, a Treasurer, and an Executive Council, consisting of the foregoing officers and of eight other members elected by the Association with the ex-presidents of the Association. These officers shall be elected by ballot at each regular annual meeting of the Association.

COUNCIL.

V. The Executive Council shall have charge of the general interests of the Association, including the election of members, the calling of meetings, the selection of papers to be read, and the determination of what papers shall be published.

AMENDMENTS.

VI. This Constitution may be amended by a two-thirds vote at any annual meeting, notice of such amendment having been given at the previous annual meeting, or the proposed amendment having received the approval of the Executive Council.

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